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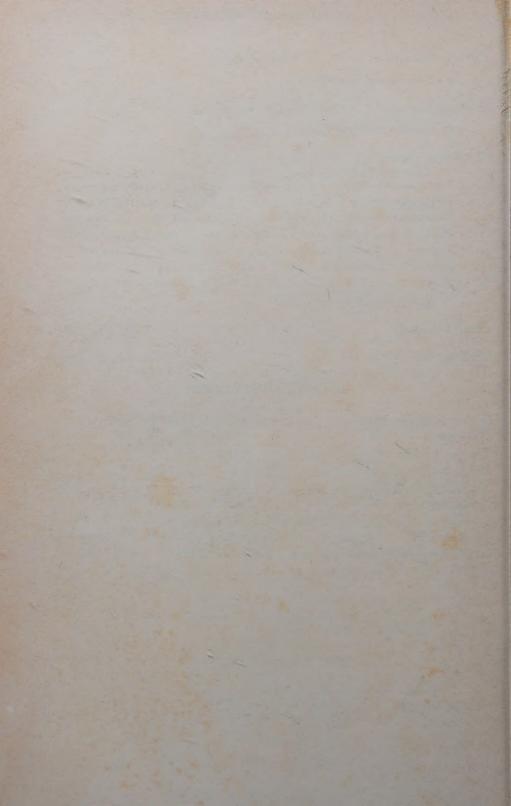
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Current Literature, 1939

II. Criticism and Biography

As was the case with the original creative literature of the period, the international tension throughout 1939, and the declaration of war in September of that year, had its effect upon criticism and biography, though perhaps not so markedly as might have been expected. The spate of memoirs and autobiographies noted in the previous year was not maintained, while the decline in the number of works dealing with literary theory and general criticism (as distinct from criticism of individual authors) continued; but a considerable number of biographical studies appeared, and there are as yet no signs that the popularity of this kind of book is waning. Since the writing of a book is not a matter merely of weeks or months, but often of years, the full impact of the war upon literature, and especially critical literature, is, of course, not immediately discernible and will not become

apparent for some time ahead.

Amongst the more general books mention must be made of Malcolm Elwin's Old Gods Falling (Collins, 15/-), a survey of the chief trends in literary development from the last few decades of the nineteenth century to the first fourteen years of this. The old gods concerning whose fall Mr. Elwin waxes enthusiastic and sometimes even exultant are those Victorian deities. Humbug and Respectability, for as he sees the development of English literature over the thirty years of which he writes, the dethronement of those tyrants was at the bottom of all the other changes that came about, some for the better, some for the worse. From the time of the aesthetes onwards, he writes, authors were struggling for "the right to freedom of artistic expression in relation to the facts of life", and little by little they won it, thanks very largely to the battle put up by George Moore, Galsworthy. Shaw and Wells especially, and by others of their generation in a lesser degree. It is not so much to the great writers that we have to look, the author declares, to see the significant developments in this conflict, but to those of middling rank — those who were popular in their day and who will have a historical importance because of their share in overthrowing the old idols, but whose literary merits as such will scarcely assure them immortality. Thus prominence is given to authors like Rider Haggard, Hall Caine, Henry Seton Merriman and Arnold Bennett. Mr. Elwin writes with enthusiasm and verve; he is never dull and his style is crystal-clear. Though

See E. S., Dec. 1945, p. 174. Though written six years ago, we believe this survey still has its value. The report on Criticism and Biography 1940-1945 will appear in our next issue. — E 2.

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he is in deadly earnest about his subject, a sense of humour is not lacking, and every now and then we are struck by some apt aphorisms. But the great defect of his work comes from this very earnestness, which now and again has the appearance of an obsession. His main charge against the Victorian age is doubtless true enough, and a certain amount of righteous indignation is quite justifiable, but when this becomes virulent denunciation the case is different. Victorian religion and respectability were not all hypocritical, and twentieth-century frankness and realism have not always been of the best kinds. Mr. Elwin's book is excellent in that he has grasped the underlying motives of the literary evolution over the period with which he is concerned; but certain factors have been ignored or given insufficient emphasis, while due allowance must be made for the author's partiality.

In the past few years several books have appeared dealing with literature and literary questions from a Left point of view. The Left Heresy in Literature and Life, by Harry Kemp, Laura Riding and others (Methuen, 7/6) is something by way of an answer to these, attacking, in a series of essays, some of the assumptions upon which the case of the Left school is based. Sound as many of its contentions seem to be, its chief weaknesses are a lack of cohesion, due no doubt to the fact that several different writers have collaborated in it, and, in some of the essays, a tendency to digression and discursiveness. It is a useful and salutary corrective to the doctrines of

the other side, but more careful editing would have improved it.

Ruth Bailey's A Dialogue on Modern Poetry (Oxford University Press, 5/—) is a discussion of recent verse between four imaginary disputants: P. the plain man or perplexed common reader; D, a defender of modern poetry; A, a severe critic of it, and M, a moderator, who presides over the argument, directs it and expounds principles. The dialogue is well sustained and well balanced, and though, by the time we reach the end, no definite or dogmatic position has been arrived at, we have at least got to understand a good deal about modern verse and especially about those few specific poems which are taken as typical examples and analysed in some detail. The reaction of the average reader will probably be that expressed by the disputant P: "I have not been converted or convinced, but I am rather less bewildered than I was."

From this book one should turn to *The Poet's Defence* (Cambridge University Press, 7/6) where Professor J. Bronowski writes a vindication of the poet and his function in an age which is obsessed with predominantly material values and considerations. In places he becomes rather obscure and at times too dictatorial and trenchant, but he gives us plenty of food for thought. And there is another good volume in Desmond Flower's *The Pursuit of Poetry*. A Book of Letters Written about Poetry by English Poets, 1550-1930 (Cassell, 10/6), in which we get a glimpse of the personal views of a number of poets on their own art. Incidentally it may be remarked that the more mercenary side of poetry is considerably dwelt on, too.

Still another debate on a highly disputable topic is to be found in a

collection of essays entitled *The Personal Heresy* (Oxford University Press, 6/—), in which E. M. W. Tillyard and C. S. Lewis discuss how far poetry is to be regarded as a revelation of the poet's personality. Mr. Lewis starts the controversy by attacking what he designates "the personal heresy", and Mr. Tillyard takes up the cudgels in defence of it. Altogether each contributes three essays and in the end they come to some kind of agreement. A reader will find a good deal of interest in the course of the discussion, and not least in discovering how far two critics may misunderstand each other and misconstrue statements or critical terms. It may be mentioned in passing that three of the essays have previously appeared in the English Association's *Essays and Studies*.

With the tenth volume of his History of the English Novel (Witherby, 16/-) Dr. E. A. Baker completes a task which has occupied him many years and which, as he admits in the preface, represents half a life-time of reading. It is longer than any of the previous volumes, running to over four hundred pages, and deals with contemporary and very recent writers, chief among them Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy and D. H. Lawrence. There is also a chapter on Scottish novelists, a section on the lesser women writers and another on satirists, the last of which goes back well into the Victorian age, as far, in fact, as Samuel Butler's Erewhon. There are, however, some notable omissions. H. G. Wells, Hugh Walpole, Aldous Huxley and Virginia Woolf (none of whom could be called minor or insignificant figures) are only mentioned in passing, while several others who seem just as worthy of notice as Mrs. Oliphant, Eden Phillpotts or George Macdonald are excluded altogether. Admittedly, in dealing with a period which is so prolific in writers of fiction, and one, moreover, on which Time has not yet had a chance to do its work of selection, an author has to draw a line somewhere, for everyone cannot be included. The quarrel that many readers will have with Dr. Baker is that his book shows a lack of perspective and proportion, and that certain writers are on the wrong side of the line. On those with which he does deal, however, he is, as usual, enlightening. Generous and judicious in his criticism, he bases his study on a wide acquaintance with the period. His work, as it always has been, is notable for its scholarship and critical insight. so that this tenth volume is a very fitting conclusion to an ambitious undertaking which has been nobly and bravely carried through. It will probably remain the standard history of the English novel for many years to come.

Another contribution to the history of present-day fiction is to be found in Some Studies in the Modern Novel, by Dorothy M. Hoare (Chatto & Windus, 5/—), though it is rather a one-sided survey. In fairness, however, it must be urged that Miss Hoare never sets out to write a full and balanced treatise. Her book claims to be no more than a collection of studies, and she is, of course, entitled to select her own subjects. The particular writers with whom she deals are Henry James, Thomas Hardy, James Joyce, George Moore, Joseph Conrad, E. M. Forster, D. H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. She is very careful, very accurate, very academic; but she is also very

prejudiced. A faithful disciple of Dr. I. A. Richards, she regards James as the father of modernism in the novel and is inclined to elevate him to a pedestal from which eminence he can be looked up to with awe and reverence by all who worship at the shrine of modernism. She waxes enthusiastic, too, over Joyce, though about most of the older generation of writers — Hardy, Conrad and Moore — she is less excited and eulogistic. They are, in fact, given rather grudging praise for what merits they do possess, and are treated in less detail. There is, however, a good estimate of D. H. Lawrence; and on Virginia Woolf Miss Hoare has some discerning things to say. The avowed modernist will admire this book; others will find it good in parts.

An interesting background to nineteenth century literature is provided by Robert Harling's Home, A Victorian Vignette (Constable, 6/—), which gives a picture of the typical Victorian home — the house, its furnishings and gardens, family life, pastimes, reading etc., and is illustrated by a number of plates reproduced from contemporary publications. It is an entertaining as well as an illuminating volume, which attempts to give a balanced picture of the nineteenth century domestic scene as it really was, revealing its merits as well as its shortcomings. Though its interest is not primarily literary, a reading of it will help us to place the literature of the age in its right setting, for it was for the home of the type described there that the novels of Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell and the rest of them were written.

The Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature continue to appear each year under the title Essays by Divers Hands. The latest volume (Vol. xvii, Oxford University Press, 7/-) is edited by E. H. W. Meyerstein and contains papers read to the society during 1938. Mr. G. S. Gordon deals with the growing voque of literary autobiography and relates it to the increasingly important place that has come to be occupied by woman, both as writer and reader, in the world of letters. It is a paper full of suggestive points which are worthy of further development. An essay on "The Literature of Greek Travel", by Mr. F. L. Lucas, is concerned mainly with the literature which appeared on the subject prior to the nineteenth century. though Byron receives honourable mention at the end. Mr. John Gawsworth, himself a poet of no small merit, dispels the current legends about Ernest Dowson's dissolute life, while Sir William Craigie writes on the difficult subject of "Dialect in Literature", surveying its use from the Middle Ages to the present day and stressing its limitations and drawbacks for the modern writer. Altogether this volume is a worthy successor to the earlier ones of its kind.

An interesting collection of miscellaneous essays in literary criticism is to be found in C. S. Lewis' Rehabilitations (Oxford University Press, 7/6). As the title implies, many of these papers (the majority of which have previously been given before audiences in the lecture-room) are concerned with a re-assessment of certain writers who have recently suffered at the hands of critics or theorists, though a few also deal with more general

subjects. Thus in a comparison of Shelley and Dryden as "classical" poets, Shelley is ranked the higher; and in another essay William Morris is defended against a number of charges frequently brought against him. Two papers discuss the place of English in a modern University syllabus — a subject which has attracted the attention of a number of writers lately, another makes a defence of "low brow" reading, while the curious title "Bluspels and Flalansferes" masks a most thoughtful paper on metaphors. "Christianity and Literature" promises interesting reading but proves rather disappointing. Mr. Lewis is one of the most stimulating of our modern critics. His views may not always be acceptable, but he invariably writes well and is worthy of serious attention.

The earlier Romantics, and the Lake Poets in particular, continue to attract the critic and biographer. William Wordsworth of Rydal Mount, by Frederika Beatty (Dent, 15/-) is, however, less concerned with Wordsworth the poet than with Wordsworth the man. "It is the purpose of this book", Miss Beatty writes in her preface, "to show that though Wordsworth, like many of us, became gradually less flexible with the years, the difference between the older and the younger man was far less marked than is usually thought." In this respect it seems true to say that he was not always sincere in his poetry; and in the picture of him here presented there is much to support that contention. For instance, Miss Beatty dispels the illusion of the nature-worshipper who found solace only in his beloved hills and lakes and languished if he went near the town. That he did love the country she does not deny; she insists, too, upon the essential frugality of his life (though even that seems to have been largely a matter of necessity rather than of choice), but she also tells us that on his visits to London he was not altogether unsuccessful in the rôle of a man-about-town and reminds us that he once shocked the young Arthur Hugh Clough (then one of his professed admirers) by observing that after all the lakes and the hills "were only the sauce and garnish of life". Then (a fact that the Wordsworthian is apt to forget) he was an enthusiastic landscape gardener, surely not a hobby to commend itself to one who really believed that man could not improve upon nature! Wordsworth has often been criticised for his lack of humour, but Miss Beatty assures us that though he was predominantly solemn, humour was not altogether absent from his composition, and that his character, in spite of certain ailments from which he suffered, was always marked by geniality, tolerance and breadth of sympathy, while he was a great talker, who could be most entertaining. It almost looks as though Lowell were right when he wrote of him, "William Wordsworth Esquire of Rydal Mount was one person and the William Wordsworth whom he so heartily reverenced another". Miss Beatty's work is carefully compiled and fully documented. For her material the author has gone to a large number of sources both published and unpublished, and for every statement she makes she gives chapter and verse. Perhaps the portrait is a little one-sided, but once again the point of view she presents is a corrective to the conventionalised conception of Wordsworth one is too apt to entertain.

Frances Winwar's Farewell the Banner (Jarrolds, 8/6) might have been given a title to indicate more accurately the subject with which it deals. To the average reader the present one suggests nothing, and one might be forgiven for taking it for a popular novel. Actually it is a study of Coleridge and his circle. For the first hundred-and-fifty pages Coleridge himself is the central figure; but gradually the scope widens, so that one by one Southey, Lamb, Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy all come into the picture. So the book is a biography not of one man but of an age. It reveals wide reading and a certain amount of original research, notably on Coleridge's days at Christ's Hospital, while it is written with a directness, clarity and precision which does not always characterise books of this type. For those who wish to pursue the study further a full bibliography of the subject is appended.

The Byron-Keats-Shelley group has received little attention, though an exception to this statement must be made in favour of J. Middleton Murry's Studies in Keats, New and Old (Oxford University Press, 8/6). This, however, is not a new book but a reprint of a volume which originally appeared in 1930, though three additional essays are now included, on "The Poet and the Dreamer", "Keats and Milton" and "Keats and Wordsworth". The earlier work will already be familiar to most students of Keats and should require no introduction; of the new material it can be said that it bears all the characteristics which one usually associates with the criticism of Mr. Middleton Murry: discernment, sympathy and sensitiveness. That on Keats and Milton is probably the best, though "Keats and Wordsworth" competes with it for first place. Mr. Murry divides poets into two groups: on the one hand the protestant-feeling type, who tend to be influenced primarily by intellect and reason, and on the other the catholic-feeling type. who are dominated to a greater extent by mysticism and write in rich imagery. Milton he finds representative of the former type, Keats of the latter. All these essays will well repay study, and even those which have appeared before will yield much on a re-reading.

In A Poet in Parliament (Murray, 12/6) Derek Hudson has resuscitated a nineteenth-century poet who is little known today — W. M. Praed. He never made a great figure in the world, for he died at the early age of thirty-seven, yet he was one of the most cultured and talented writers of his day. His real fault seems to have been that he had too many irons in the fire. His interests were diffused over literature, scholarship and politics, with the result that he really did justice to none, though he might have become brilliant in all three spheres. His life was a calm, serene one, for the most part happy and comfortable, though at the end his health was undermined by consumption. His poetry reflects that same calmness and serenity. Mr. Hudson's study makes no ambitious claims for Praed, but it does him justice and sets him in just the right place in his age.

Matthew Arnold, by Lionel Trilling (Allen & Unwin, 15/—) is not merely another life of Arnold; rather it is what the author terms "a biography of Arnold's mind", with its subject "to make clear what Arnold as poet and as critic of literature, politics and religion actually meant". Mr. Trilling does

not claim to have explored many new sources or to have searched for unpublished material; his conclusions are based upon a study of Arnold's published works and of the chief critical treatises upon him. His book is not by any means an easy one to read, and one sometimes feels that he could have condensed his material with advantage both to himself and the reader. Put briefly, his contention is that throughout the whole of his life Arnold found himself in conflict with the Puritan culture of his age and its insistence upon the sanctity of work - a culture with which his own father had become infected and with which, in turn, he tried to infect his children. Arnold saw its hollowness and the essential fallacy in it, and so he conceived it his duty to warn his contemporaries against placing their faith in a creed which was at bottom nothing but a materialist one. If, as Mr. Trilling remarks, the consistent aim of his life was "to see the object as it really is". then he certainly achieved that aim insofar as the current and accepted notions of his day were concerned. Needless to say, the author does not agree with T. S. Eliot's view that "Arnold's vision was too simple, too genteel, incomplete". On the contrary he holds that for the most part he did "see life steadily and see it whole", becoming familiar with its many sides: the squalid as well as the genteel, the disturbing as well as the placid and complacent. There is much in this book that should stimulate thought both about Arnold himself and about the Victorian era generally. But occasionally Mr. Trilling stretches things too far, as, for instance, when he tries to find in Sohrab and Rustum a reflection of the spiritual conflict in the poet which had been occasioned by his father's strict education of his children!

Since his death some fifty years ago Robert Browning's reputation has undergone some strange vicissitudes. In a suggestive study entitled Browning and Modern Thought (Williams & Norgate, 15/-) Dallas Kenmare conducts an inquiry into the poet's relation to modernism in religion. philosophy and morals, as well as to contemporary fashions in literature and literary practice. The study is not a profound one but it is well informed and written with competence and clarity. Miss Kenmare sees a close affinity between Browning's position in his own age and that of T. S. Eliot in the contemporary period, for both stand out as poets of a virile religious faith in a generation for the most part sceptical or indifferent to religious values. Both, too, may be called something of revolutionaries in literary technique, and each has been regarded in his own day as an "advanced" and an "obscure" poet. That Browning has been somewhat neglected of late and has not received the appreciation he deserves. Miss Kenmare is ready to admit, but she is convinced that sooner or later he will come into his own. Her book deals with the didactic rather than the more purely literary and artistic side of Browning's poetry, but that, of course, is inevitable from the subject.

Emerson, His Muse and Message, by V. R. Rao (Calcutta University Press) is a study of another writer of the last century (this time an American) who is today not nearly so well known as he deserves to be,

save perhaps among certain of the older generation. Dr. Rao's style is rather stilted and at times he tends to rely too much upon the opinions of earlier critics and biographers of Emerson instead of venturing to give his own; but his book, dedicated to "all Unitarians of the United World" constitutes a significant and important contribution to Emersonian studies. He reveals Emerson's personality as a fusion of mysticism, rationalism and romanticism, and quite rightly insists upon the doctrine of divine immanence as the central one in this thought. He also traces out certain affinities with Wordsworth as well as with the religious thinkers of the East, especially of India. It is customary to regard Emerson primarily as an essayist, but much as he values his essays and other prose writings, Dr. Rao would give first place to his poetry, and for this reason the second part of his book is devoted to a detailed examination and criticism of the poems. Occasionally, perhaps, these chapters tend to be over-laudatory, but on the whole the book is a sound, thoughtful and understanding appreciation of a writer who exercised a profound influence in his generation and the one which immediately followed it. One of Emerson's earliest biographers was his friend Oliver Wendell Holmes. A study of Holmes himself has now appeared under the title Holmes of the Breakfast Table, by M. A. de Wolfe Howe (Oxford University Press, 10/6), which might be read along with Dr. Rao's book.

Of late Robert Louis Stevenson has come into the limelight, and several critical and biographical works upon him have made their appearance. The latest is an addition to the English Men of Letters Series — Robert Louis Stevenson, by Stephen Gwynn (Macmillan 6/-). Mr. Gwynn, who confesses in his preface that he writes "from a standpoint more personal than is usually adopted in the series", is a combination of the biographer and the critic. His book does not purport to be a detailed life of Stevenson: rather he selects certain incidents and episodes which had a definite connexion with his work, and centres his portrait around those, for it is primarily a portrait and not a mere chronological study of Stevenson's life and work that Mr. Gwynn aims at presenting. Behind the whole of his life and the evolution of his talent as a writer he discerns five influences or motiveforces: his illness, his poverty, his presbyterian upbringing and sympathies. his indomitable will-power, and his love affair with Mrs. Osbourne, who later became his wife, On the critical side Mr. Gwynn adopts a point of view very much at variance with that put forward in Mrs. Dalglish's Presbyterian Pirate, published in 1937. He stresses the fact that Stevenson wrote under the constant urge of mancial necessity, and that his much lauded style is actually the result of much labour and perseverance. On the whole he considers him a better story-teller than a literary artist, and he points out the fact that, unlike his fellow-countryman Scott, he gave no real national background to his novels, a fact for which Scotsmen have never completely forgiven him. Nor was he really alive to the spirit of life and affairs in his own day, owing perhaps to his having to pass so much of his time away from them. The comparison with Conrad which Mr. Gwynn suggests at the close of his book may not be altogether appropriate in all respects and may require some modification; but the book as a whole is a welcome addition to a valuable series.

Guy B. Petter's George Meredith and His German Critics (Witherby, 10/6) is really two books in one. The first part is Mr. Petter's own work, the second is a translation of the greater part of Greta Grimsehl's book on the relation of the sexes in Meredith's novels, originally published in German in 1924. Since Meredith's death in 1909 a considerable body of German criticism has grown up around him and his writings, and it is with this that Mr. Petter deals; but not only with this. He goes further and analyses the various German influences which went to the formation of his thought, character and general style of his work. He shows, for instance, how the basis of his social philosophy is to be traced to the writings of Goethe. Schiller and Richter; nor does he under-rate the significance of his schooldays in Germany, a period when he became imbued with German "attitudes", caught partly from the methods of his education, partly from the companionships he formed, and partly from a wide reading of German literature. Following certain German critics, Mr. Petter shows how all this not only contributed to the development of Meredith's thought, but also to the establishment of a new type of novel, which set forth in literary and artistic form the conception of the individual life as a constant process of development. The author's usual method is to take some aspect of the "Meredith question" which has been dealt with in fair detail by a German critic, to expound the critic's views, and then to add his own commentary. In the case of Dr. Grimsehl, however, he lets her speak for herself. Her main contention is that the essential question in all Meredith's novels is the relation of the sexes 1 and that the position he adopted on this question marks him out as a twentieth century, not a Victorian novelist. "We feel", she writes, "that the problems he handled are the problems of today, and so we think of him not so much as a representative Victorian, but rather as the herald of modern ideas." It is now twenty-one years since those words were written, and the problems and ideas of the present time are rather different from those which Dr. Grimsehl had in mind, while our attitude to the Victorian age and its values has also been modified. But her treatise is still one of the most discerning and penetrating on its subject.

At this point some biographical and critical studies of a few lesser prose writers call for mention. Sailor on Horseback, by Irving Stone (Collins, 12/6) is the story of the life of Jack London, best known as the author of White Fang. It is not a well written book; indeed it is disjointed, rather unshapely, and lacking in that sense of form and proportion which should characterise a good biography. But it has an amazing tale to tell of poverty, misfortune, success, failure and adventure. To most readers of White Fang

¹ Cf. on this point the book by Alice Woods, George Meredith as Champion of Women and Progressive Education (1938), noticed in the survey of biography and criticism for that year (E. S., August, 1939, p. 180.)

the author is no more than a name. They should read this book of Mr. Stone's, if only to realise what kind of a life Jack London actually lived very different from what the majority of us would suppose. And almost as amazing are the revelations made in Margaret Lane's Edgar Wallace, The Biography of a Phenomenon (Heinemann, 10/6), which actually appeared in 1938, though too late for inclusion in the survey of that year. Edgar Wallace was by no means a great writer, but he was an extraordinarily prolific one and will probably go down in history as the outstanding creator of that particular type of thriller which enjoyed so great a voque in the twenties and thirties of this century. Miss Lane's is the first attempt at a biographical sketch combined with a survey of his literary productivity. Then there is Christopher Lloyd's Captain Marryat (Longmans, 15/-). Any Englishman of middle-age or over must have read a fair number of Marryat's sea stories in his school-days. It is not with Marryat's work as a writer, however, that Mr. Lloyd is primarily concerned (he disposes of it in a single chapter) but with his career as a sailor. For those whose interests are literary rather than nautical this is certainly unfortunate, but on the other hand the book gives a vivid picture of seafaring life in the early nineteenth century, and it was from this, as Marryat experienced it, that the novels grew.

Lionel Stevenson's Dr. Quicksilver, The Life of Charles Lever (Chapman & Hall, 12/6) recalls a novelist who at one time was renowned as a humorist but who today is little read. Again it is the story of a feckless person who continually found himself in financial difficulties, followed successively a number of occupations and then, almost by accident, and greatly to his own surprise, became a successful writer. Mr. Stevenson has acquitted himself well. He writes entertainingly and makes his hero live. And finally amongst this batch of minor writers there is Louisa May Alcott, of Little Women fame. She, too, at one time had a large public which has considerably diminished today; she too did not enjoy too easy a life, having to shoulder the responsibility for a rather irresponsible family. Contrary to what might have been expected, her best work was that produced with an eye to the profits it would bring her and though she would have preferred to write romantically she wrote domestically from motives that were purely mercenary. All these facts, and many more, emerge from Katherine Anthony's Louisa May Alcott (The Cressett Press, 12/6), a book full of interest.

In A Portrait of Stella Benson (Macmillan, 15/—) Mr. R. Ellis Roberts gives us a biography and a critical estimate of a woman novelist who, had she lived longer, promised fair to become one of the most talented of modern English writers. Based upon the first-hand material supplied by personal friendship, correspondence and the recollections of others, Mr. Robert's book can be taken as authoritative and (as far as is humanly possible) accurate. It indulges in no flights of imagination, but is written with restraint, candour and sobriety. At times it strikes one as a little ponderous and perhaps over-serious, but there is no doubt of its sincerity. Mr. Roberts is quite

obviously an admirer of Stella Benson; that, however, does not lead him into mere unthinking adulation of either her or her work. There is no point in recapitulating the biographical part of the book here - her Yorkshire upbringing, her work amongst the poor of the East End of London, her days with the suffragettes, then her journeys to China and America, and finally her illness and premature death. The details of all of them can be read in the book itself. What is of more interest is her personality. As she is represented here she reminds us in many respects of R. L. Stevenson. In spite of ill health she always had a zest for life and got a good deal of joy out of it. Essentially modest and self-depreciating, she was always of good courage and a born champion of lone causes. There was nothing of condescension in her nature, and she never sought praise or reward for what she did, though when praise came it was always appreciated. As a writer she displayed the same qualities. Much of her work was born of her experience of life and the world, and her delicate health left its mark upon her writing. Gifted with an unusually active imagination, she was, by temperament, an artist in words. This is the picture of her presented by Mr. Ellis Roberts in this book, a book as well written and illuminating as it is interesting to read.

Vera Brittain's long awaited study of Winifred Holtby just manages to come within the scope of a survey for 1939, since it appeared at the very end of that year, under the title Testament of Friendship (Macmillan, 10/6). In many respects there are resemblances between the cases of Winifred Holtby and Stella Benson. Both died comparatively young and just when they seemed to be on the threshold of a period of distinguished literary achievement, and both had to fight against ill health. In such circumstances a biographer must be beset by a great temptation to sentimentalise her subject, but Miss Brittain resists this temptation. Though naturally she cannot but regret the early death of Winifred Holtby, she does not lay undue stress upon it. Rather her book is concerned, as a biography should be, with its subject's life and character. We follow her from her childhood, through her schooldays at Scarborough (where she narrowly escaped being killed in an air-raid), on to her period with the W.A.A.C. in France during the war of 1914-1918. Then in the post-war years there are her student days at Oxford, a rather disastrous love affair, travel, philanthropic and social work, and finally her entry, via journalism, into the world of literature. The impression one gets of her is that of a personality full of energy, enthusiasm and vitality, who wore herself out by refusal to rest or to take things more easily. Sympathy for all who were in distress or suffering under oppression was one of her outstanding qualities, and though (again like Stella Benson) she was far from being one of those people who crave for the limelight or court publicity, she was never so happy as when she was engaged in some crusade. Her life, as told here by her closest friend, leaves one with a sense of disorderliness and confusion; she strove to pack so much into so few years that it was a perpetual hurry and bustle. Yet behind all the seeming disorder there was a unifying desire: the desire to use her capabilities in the direction of achieving world-citizenship and of enabling others to do the same. So far as literature is concerned, Miss Brittain is willing to admit that Winifred Holtby has many failings and that she was not always a sound judge of her own work; and most readers will probably agree with her biographer that her greatest achievement came in South Riding. On the whole the portrait here drawn is a fair and balanced one. Now and again one feels that the writer is inclined to indulge in an excess of praise; but an objective and impartial view is impossible from one who knew her subject so well as Vera Brittain knew Winifred Holtby.

That Elia of the twentieth century, E. V. Lucas, must have thousands of admirers who have read and re-read his essays with delight and have wished that they could have met their author. They come as near to meeting him as they ever will in his daughter, Audrey Lucas' study E. V. Lucas, A Portrait (Methuen, 6/-), and it is to be feared that many of them will be disillusioned, for the person that emerges from these pages is not the genial, kindly, tolerant soul that one has always imagined, but something of an egotist, over-concerned with his own comfort, and not too sociable. Miss Lucas tries to be as generous to her father's memory as she can, and to excuse many of his faults by referring them to youthful repressions and frustrations. But though that may explain them it does not do away with them. It is, to say the least, disconcerting to find that one who can write so charmingly and has given entertainment to so many readers, led a strange and solitary life in his last years, cutting himself off from family, home and friends; that he was deficient in sympathy and benevolence, something of a snob, and frequently discourteous to the point of being ungentlemanly. Yet this is the impression that one carries away from a reading of Miss Lucas' book; and it is not because she deliberately sets out to be the iconoclast. On the contrary her work is intended as a tribute and a monument to her father. Perhaps it is as well that we should know the truth about our favourite writers, but in this case the truth will be unpalatable to many.

Another writer who must have given delight to countless readers is G. K. Chesterfon, the creator of Father Brown. G. K. Chesterton, by Maurice Evans (Cambridge University Press, 5/—) is concerned mainly with Chesterton's philosophy and literary expression and makes no attempt at biography. The author reveals him as the commonsense philosopher, the optimist replying to the pessimism and decadence of the late Victorian age and the early twentieth century. "His writings", he declares, "are a vindication of the ordinary human relationships which compose the greater part of life, and he might be called the prophet and the poet of the man in the street." Mr. Evans is inclined to belittle, if not to misunderstand completely, the position of the rationalist and liberalist in religion, just as he is inclined to accept orthodoxy as being unquestionable commonsense merely because it is orthodoxy, but on the whole his conclusions and contentions are sound enough.

Critical work on Bernard Shaw seems to have ceased (for the time being,

at least) but Charles MacMahon Shaw, a cousin of the playwright, has written a pleasantly chatty book entitled *Bernard's Brethren* (Constable, 10/—), to which G.B.S. himself has added comments and observations. As the title suggests, there is little in it which is actually about Shaw; it mainly concerns his family and his predecessors, though it is really entertaining.

Amongst the modern school of Irish dramatists Sean O'Casey is certainly one of the best known. I Knock at the Door (Macmillan, 10/6) is the story, from his own pen, of the first twelve years of his life: years of poverty, illness and hardship which left their mark upon him into the days of his manhood. Written in the third person and rather in the style of a novel, it is the tale of a little boy's life in Dublin during his most impressionable years. sometimes exciting and joyful, sometimes sombre and cruel, but always full of event. His father died when he was quite young and left a large family for his mother to support. Young Johnny (as the author calls himself) often went hungry, was tormented and bullied by those older and stronger than himself, and for some while suffered from a disease of the eyes which threatened to develop into life-long blindness. But he kept a cheerful spirit through it all and found a good deal of enjoyment in the squalor and glamour, the jollity and the morbid interests of the Irish capital. The days of his childhood were the days when feeling ran high in Ireland, the days of Parnell and Fenianism, of fierce religious animosities and political feuds; the days when red-coats paraded the streets continually and when poverty and hunger gathered to gaze with vacant curiosity at the fine uniforms and dresses going to the hall at the Castle, and then afterwards to curse them and all they stood for. All this is the background, very vividly portrayed, against which Mr. O'Casey sets the story of his early years. I Knock at the Door is an impressive and moving book; but there seems no excuse for the author's deliberately going out of his way, as he so often does, to drag in for his own use the coarsest and most vulgar of language.

A. A. Milne, that delightful author of books for children and the creator of Christopher Robin, Winnie the Pooh and all their animal friends, has also written the story of his life under the title It's Too Late Now (Methuen, 12/6). It is not surprising to find that Mr. Milne lays most stress on his childhood days, which occupy nearly half of the book, for he believes with Wordsworth that "the child is father of the man" and that the real origins of his own special literary bent are to be found right back in his early years. The book is delightfully and intimately written, as anyone who knows Mr. Milne's other work would expect it to be, and there is nothing of the

note of regret in it that the title suggests.

Another very charming autobiography is James Bridie's One Way of Living (Constable, 8/6). The author himself would have us believe that it is the autobiography of an idler; but that is only his modesty. Actually it reveals Mr. Bridie (or should we say Dr. Bridie, since by profession he is a physician?)² as a dogged, alert, hard worker, with an inexhaustible fund

² In any case, the name is, of course, a pseudonym.

of good-humour and a genius for making the most of what life has had to offer him. Divided into ten chapters, each covering a period of five years, it is written in a pleasant, easy style, and is full of entertaining as well as enlightening anecdotes. Mr. Bridie has certainly had a varied career, and from it he has drawn the material for his literary work. The present volume re-tells it in retrospect, without any touch of egotism, malice or repining. There are some admirable character sketches in it, and not a little shrewd worldly-wisdom.

In conclusion a word may be said on the subject of periodicals. With the issue of April 1939 The London Mercury, with which Sir John Squire had so long been associated, ceased publication and amalgamated with Life and Letters Today, while later in the year The Cornhill, the oldest and best known of literary magazines, announced that it was suspending publication for the duration of the war.³ The loss of two such periodicals as these, following so closely upon the demise of The Criterion in 1938, is a severe blow to English letters; but while we regret their passing we must also welcome the appearance, in December 1939, of the first number of a new magazine, Horizon, under the editorship of Cyril Connelly. The contributors to this initial number include Walter de la Mare, W. H. Auden, Louis MacNeice, J. B. Priestley, Herbert Read, H. E. Bates, Stephen Spender and Geoffrey Grigson. Whether it can maintain so distinguished a company for very long remains to be seeen.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Notes and News

Weohstan's slaying of Eanmund

(Beowulf, 2611-2625)

What seest thou else In the dark backward and abysm of time?

Short as it is this digression presents historical as well as artistic problems which are well worth a few additional remarks — and the risk of adding one more drop to the torrent of comments the Beowulfian episodes have already let loose.

The main question, which does not seem to have been really solved, is this: what are the exact motives underlying the introduction of this digression

⁸ It has recently resumed publication.

into the poem? In other words, is the digression artistically justified or not? As the question can hardly be separated from the historical back-

ground of the passage, a brief retrospect will not be superfluous.

The present digression is one of a sequence of digressions all centering round the Swedish-Geatish feud, and characteristic of the second part of Beowulf. Indeed, if we except the so-called elegies, the sequence forms practically the whole background of the 'Dragon part' and leads to the famous foreshadowing of a renewal of the feud after Beowulf's death. The outcome of that future and last phase of the great struggle is only hinted at, though it can be gathered that it ended with the practical annihilation of the Geats and their absorption into the Swedish nation. The description of various phases of this rivalry between the two nations, the frequent recurrence of the allusions to the bloody fights between Geats and Swedes which involved on both sides the 'fall of a prince', suggest with an ever growing force that a fresh outbreak of hostilities is almost bound to occur at the first opportunity. That Beowulf's death is to be the signal of a new war is made clear by the messenger's forebodings.

Thus, to our mind, the different digressions of the sequence, though not grouped in chronological order, are above all intended to prepare the ground for that great epic prophecy of the fall of the Geats which is an actual climax in the poem, and perhaps the main element of the tragic beauty in which

the end of Beowulf is steeped.

If we keep this in mind it will be seen that, apart from their historical interest as documents concerning early Scandinavian wars, the digressions present a highly interesting artistic aspect which is of great value for a

better understanding of the structure of the 'Dragon part'.

Now what part does the present digression play in the sequence? Let us first remark that it does not add much to our knowledge of the historical events themselves, the main outline of which must be gathered from a comparison of the other episodes. After King Ohthere's death his sons Eanmund and Eadgils were forced to flee to Heardred's court as their uncle Onela had seized the crown. Onela soon invaded Geatland, and it is in the course of this campaign that the slaying of Eanmund (as well as of Heardred) occurred. Beowulf then ascended the Geatish throne and Onela, apparently not too eager to fight against him, retired to Sweden.³ This prudent attitude, however, did not prevent a renewal of the war.

See Fr. Klaeber, Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, 3d. ed., New-York 1936, pp. xl, cvi.

ond him eft gewät Ongenöioes bearn hāmes niosan, syööan Heardrēd læg, lēt ŏone bregostŏl Biowulf healdan.

Geatum wealdan... (Beowulf, 2387-90).

This 'tolerance' is indeed an indirect proof of Beowulf's power: 'Onela did not feel strong enough to annex and so destroy the Geatish national integrity' (A. E. Du Bois, 'The Unity of "Beowulf"', PMLA, XLIX, 1934, p. 385). See also Beowulf, 2733-36.

¹ The Elegy of the Last Survivor and the Father's Lament. Though these elegies are of a more general character, their connection with the group of digressions of which they form part is none the less evident.

Eadgils, with the help of Geatish forces, opens a new campaign in which Onela is defeated and killed; thereupon Eadgils finally ascends his father's

throne. So much is clear from the other episodes.

The present digression gives us the history of Wiglaf's wonderful sword. Like the famous sword which appeared to Beowulf in the 'haunted mere', this sword was also an ealdsweord etonisc'. The way in which it passed to Wiglaf brings us in immediate connection with the events mentioned above. It originally belonged to Eanmund. Weohstan, who fought on Onela's side, having killed Eanmund in battle, brought it to his liege-lord together with other spoils. Now, 'bēah de hē his brodor bearn ābredwade', Onela bequeathed the sword as a reward to Weohstan, on whose death it normally passed into the hands of his son Wiglaf.

Was the poet then merely tempted by the not unusual practice of giving some interesting details of the origin and history of famous weapons, as so often happens already in Homer? Or is there something more behind the digression than a wish to excite the reader's attention and give more

weight to the mention of the gomel swyrd'?

Klaeber's remark on the whole passage definitely shows his misgivings as to its relevance in the poem. 'The remarkable insertion of a long speech by Wiglaf, together with comment on his family, right at a critical moment of the dragon fight (2602-60), can hardly be called felicitous.'6 Of the speech itself, which takes about the second half of the passage, we shall not speak here, though we think that the part it is actually meant to play justifies its introduction. The first half of the passage is precisely our digression. We admit, of course, that the break in the narration seems somewhat long just at that point. We even think that a relaxation of the tension is certainly not needed for its own sake. Such a break, however, is in no opposition whatever to a principal aspect of the art of Beowulf. The method of Beowulf has indeed been characterized as pageant drama or, more recently, as tapestry, which presents its pictures in a series of panels.' 7 The original design thus excludes a strictly 'continuous sequence, moving like pictures in a cinema film'8 The frequent breaks, which are part of that original design, are often endowed with an organic structure of their own and are in most cases connected either with one another or with the main narrative in view of reaching a certain artistic effect. Once this is admitted, the digressive interruption is no longer obtrusive. We must seek, on the contrary, what reasons lie behind it and, above all, what are its links with the rest of the poem. In most instances it will then be found quite relevant.

⁷ A. C. Bartlett, The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, New-York 1935, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.,* loc. cit.

⁴ Beowulf, 2616.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2619.

⁶ Klaeber, ed. cit., p. lviii. Berendsohn, on the other hand, includes the episodes among the 'Referate von Stücken älterer Dichtung' (W. A. Berendsohn, Zur Vorgeschichte des "Beowulf", Kopenhagen 1935, p. 153).

The emphasis on the sword is perhaps much more pregnant than would seem at first sight. A hint as to the implications lurking behind it is given by the words of the poet about Onela: 'no ymbe da fæhde spræc'.9 The critics have tried to explain this 'breaking away from the primitive tribal custom' 10 by pointing to the fact that, as a lawless exile, Onela's nephew was 'no longer entitled to protection from his kin.' 11 Of course it could not be expected that Onela should have adopted another attitude towards Weohstan, his true and loyal supporter in his own wars against his nephews! The words are rightly considered as litotes meaning that he congratulated him on this exploit. Yet behind this very obvious meaning there is probably an allusion to a time when that 'fæho' was indeed spoken about - by whom and in what terms we may imagine if we remember the circumstances.

Weohstan, in fact, as a protégé of the king, remained in Sweden only as long as Onela was on the throne. After Onela's fall his position was of course impossible: not only was he on the 'wrong side' as towards Eadgils, but he had actually killed the new king's own brother! He consequently fled from Sweden and found protection at Beowulf's court. This is explained by the fact that he belonged to the same stock as Beowulf himself. the Wægmundingas (though the relation between the Swedish and Geatish branch of the Wægmundingas 'remains doubtful').12 Thus a period of peace ensued for a time between Swedes and Geats. Eadgils, having found a refuge at the Geatish court and having been helped (indirectly at least) by Beowulf against Onela, could hardly be expected to break the peace, however much he may have desired to take vengeance on Weohstan - for his brother's blood was still crying for revenge, according to the tribal custom. On the other hand, the poet takes care to insist on the fact that Beowulf was so strong that in his reign no neighbouring king ever dared attack the Geats. But this could only last as long as Beowulf lived. Beowulf's death, as we have seen, provides the enemies of the Geats with a fine opportunity, and besides the Frisians (who had apparently not forgotten Hygelac's raid)13 the Swedes are definitely mentioned as likely to cause trouble. Now, if the fall of the Geats alluded to in the epic prophecy can be considered as a fact, its circumstances remain completely in the dark. The origin of the Swedish attack which brought it about may, however, be tentatively reconstructed. Is it not likely that Beowulf's death having now freed Eadgils from his restraint (both moral and material),

Beowulf, 2618.

¹⁰ Klaeber, ed. cit., p. 218.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 217.

Ibid., p. xliv.

¹³ This allusion to the Frisians has, in our opinion, a definite purpose. It serves to emphasize by comparison the inevitability of a Swedish attack. If the Frisians, who after all had successfully repelled Hygelac and with Frankish aid torn to pieces the Geatish army, were expected to remember the raid and wage war on the remote Geats once Beowulf's death provided them with a favourable opportunity, how much more could this be expected from the Swedes who had incomparably more serious grounds to remember their enmity with the Geats, their close neighbours.

the duty of vengeance for Eanmund's death offered an ideal pretext for a renewal of the war? Though Weohstan had died, Eanmund's sword had passed to his son. That sword, a precious heirloom probably transmitted from generation to generation in the Swedish royal family, was no doubt the symbol of Weohstan's victory over Eadgils's brother; and now Weohstan's son had ascended the Geatish throne. If we remember how strong was the imperative of vengeance, especially among rival tribes, and if we keep in mind that the Swedish branch of the Wægmundingas fought on Onela's side, it becomes extremely probable that Eadgils spoke 'ymbe ðā fæhðe' indeed, as soon as he found it convenient. Less potent causes than these brought about wars between hereditary enemies!

This assumption fits in very well with what is known of, or supposed about, the historical events.¹⁴ The probability of an 'early absorption of the Geats into the Swedish state', on the other hand, has also been pointed

out.15

The reasons for the introduction of our short digression are now easy to understand. Not only does it provide a new allusion to the Swedish wars — an essential theme in the background of the Dragon part — so that it fits into the sequence of digressions which has been artistically designed; but at the same time it would give us a first and veiled allusion to the disaster in store for the Geats, so clearly prophesied later on. This allusion, moreover, entails a touch of dramatic irony which would be quite in the manner of the Beowulf poet: the 'feud' was not mentioned by Onela; nay, Eanmund's heirloom was bequeathed to his 'bana' in requital of his services and is about to deal a great blow in the Dragon fight; ... yet (and this is understood) there came a time when the 'feud' was mentioned, and with what result we know!

As concerns historical facts, this tentative interpretation, though plausible, is of course purely an assumption. We should not have indulged in a piece of detective work concerning the circumstances of the fall of the Geats if this assumption had not allowed us to shed some light on the artistic value

Klaeber, ed. cit., p. xlviii. Chambers would even put it as early as Heardred's defeat and death (R. W. Chambers. Beowulf, An Introduction to the Study of the Poem ..., Cambridge 1932, p. 13). See also W. W. Lawrence, Beowulf and Epic Tradition,

Cambridge Mass. 1930, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴ See Klaeber's account, Beowulf, ed. cit.. pp. xliii-xlv. That the story of Onela's usurpation and subsequent fights agains, his dispossessed nephews involved at the same time the existence of two rival factions in Sweden, the one 'foreign', the other 'native', is extremely probable. Within the Beowulf poem it is sufficient to know, in order to confirm our assumption, that the Wægmundingas, now at the head of the Geatish kingdom, had sided with the party opposed to that of Eadgils, now on the Swedish throne. Should we regard Beowulf, on the other hand, as entirely unhistorical, our assumption would be quite in accordance with Deutschbein's reconstruction (which also seems to have been adopted, more recently, by Du Bois, op. cit., p. 388). If 'Onela after the fall of Heardred appointed Weohstan king of the Geats, whilst Eadgils fled to the Danes and afterwards... returned to Sweden and defeated Onela' (Klaeber, ed. cit., p. xliv), then an action of Eadgils against Weohstan (or his son and successor Wiglaf) would be almost inevitable: it would have suited his desire of revenge as well as of expansion.

which may be attributed to our digression. The highly dramatic touch underlying it would, by itself alone, provide an ample justification of the existence of that unassuming digression in the poem.

Lausanne.

Adrien Bonjour.

Some Notes on Cynewulf's Elene

L. 252. ald yðliofu.

The reading $\bar{y}\partial liofu$, which is meaningless, was altered to $\bar{y}\partial hofu$ by Thorpe, and this has been accepted by all editors. In support of the alteration is quoted Gen. 1316 ongan ofostlice / p hof wyrcan, which was corrected by Grein to \$\tilde{y}\$ bhof wyrcan, in view of the vocalic alliteration an evident emendation. Yet the meaning in Elene is quite different from that in Genesis, where the word is used about the Ark: "Noah did as the Lord commanded ... he began speedily to build a floating farmstead (or a sea-house), a mighty sea-chest." The description seems to be ironical, and the words \$\bar{y}\$ bhof, mereciest which could be suitably applied to a monstrosity like the Ark, could hardly have been used by Cynewulf as fitting designations of Elene's warships, which in the preceding passage he describes by the highly poetical and laudatory epithets fearoohengestas, samearas, waghengestas, bronte brimbissan, wægflotan and hringedstefnan. It is evident that yphof does not fit in with the other names used about Elene's ships. The correct reading is doubtless to alter $\tilde{y}\delta liofu$ to $\tilde{y}\delta liodu$, plur. of $\tilde{y}\delta lid$, a ship. Paleographically, this alteration is just as easy as Thorpe's, and it is readily understandable that the scribe might misread the not strictly WS form liodu. In Beowulf 198 we have the weak form yolida and, what is more to the point, yolid occurs twice in Andreas (An. 278, 445), with which Elene has so many agreements in vocabulary. It may be added that in one of the passages in Andreas yolid occurs together with merepyssa 'searoarer', just as in Elene yoliofu occurs with brimbissan.

L. 293. Hwæt ge þære snyttro unwislice wraðe wiðweorpon.

For a summary of previous suggestions for the emendation of this line, which is faulty metrically and syntactically, see Krapp, The Vercelli Book, p. 136. Krapp accepts Holthausen's reading ealle snyitro, which was suggested by the Latin text: repellantes omnem sapientiam, but aptly remarks that it is not apparent why ealle should have been miswritten as bar. The latter word should clearly be corrected, but the emendations proposed do not seem to meet the case. They have been based on the assumption

that the head stave falls on un-. Derivations in un- usually take the main stress on the prefix, it is true, but not invariably. A clear example in Elene of unstressed un- is 1. 410: untraglice | be ic him to sece, where the t takes the stave; cf. further Elene 466: unasecgendlic | bone sylf ne mæg. Other examples are: unwaclice / willan bines Jul. 50. — unwurölice / wordum and dædum Gen. 440. - unfreondlice / fremena bancast Gen. 2689. - se be unmurnlice | madmas dæleb Beow. 1756. — unwaclice | wæpna neotan By. 308. — Some other cases: unweaxenne | wordum lærde El. 529. — bæt is undyrne | dryhten Higelac Beow. 2000. — unfyrn faca | feorh ætþringan An. 1371. — ungod gæleð / ic ne gyme þæs Ridd. 2135. — obbe unlytel / leades clympre Ridd. 4175. — heortan unhneaweste / hringa gedales Wid. 73. — Apparently also: græs ungrene | garsecg beahte Gen. 117. tyho me untryowoa / cwyo bæt ic seo teonum georn Gen. 581. — Thus un- could be unstressed now and then (especially in quadrisyllabic adverbs in -lice) to meet the demands of metre and alliteration. If in Elene 293 -wistakes the head stave, the restoration of the line seems simple; bære is merely a case of the commonest of all scribal errors, b for p, so that the line should run: hwæt ge wære snyttro | unwislice | wrade widwurpon: "Lo, you unwisely rejected cautious wisdom."

> L. 547. Weoxan word cwidum weras beahtedon on healfa gehwær.

L. 547a in the form it generally has in editions, should apparently be rendered 'the words grew with their speeches', 'in their speeches' or something of the kind, which seems rather forced. The reading that most readily suggests itself is to run word together with cwidum into the common compound wordcwidum: 'they waxed (or flourished) in their speeches (deliberations)'; cf. wordum lærde, septe soðcwidum; wordum mældon in the preceding passages (ll. 529 ff., 537). Holthausen compares Hel. V. 5959 f.: Thuo bigunnun im quidi managa Under thēm weron wahsan. For the construction we may quote: Sum ancra, þe missenlicum mægnum for Gode weohse Prose Guthl. 12:26. — Ær þon eowre treowu telgum blowe, wæstmum weaxe Psalm 57:8. — Wudu sceal on foldan blædum blowan Gnom. Cott. 34; and we might also adduce the Shakespearian they waxen in their mirth Mids. II.1.56. — This reading has the advantage to make weoxan and beahtedon parallel, referring to the same subject, weras, which is what we expect here.

A few words might be added on the much-discussed reading burgenta, line 31:

Lungre scynde ofer burgenta beadubreata mæst hergum to hilde.

In the Additions to Grein-Köhler, Holthausen alters burgenta to byrg enta, as already suggested by Körner (Einleitung in d. Stud. d. Angels. II,

268), and so in his third and fourth editions of Elene, rendering ofer by 'über...hin'; but the exact meaning of 'over the castles of giants' is not very clear. E. A. Kock takes burg enta as a metaphor meaning 'mountain' (Anglia XLV, 125), but this seems doubtful. The assumption of an OE noun burgent 'mountain' (Grimm; Ritter, Verm. Beiträge, p. 172; Grein-Köhler translate 'urbs?') is hardly acceptable; cf. Krapp, p. 133. The reading burg enta (Grimm, Kemble) seems still to be the best starting-point. We may compare, with Holthausen, (burgwara...) eald enta geweorc Wand. 86 f.; and especially (ceastra beon feorran gesyne) ordanc enta geweorc Gnom. Cott. 1f. This clearly refers to the prehistoric fortresses well-known from various parts of England, which were conspicuously placed on hill tops and visible far and wide across the country. The poet may be assumed to picture the scene of the gathering of the barbarian armies in just such an old castle, which agrees well with the wild and desolate setting depicted in the preceding lines, and the lines quoted above thus describe how they stream away over its ramparts to the attack on the Emperor. If so, we actually expect, "swiftly they sped over the walls of the giants' fortress", and this may be the actual meaning, though the expression used is more compressed. On the other hand, ofer had a considerable latitude of meaning in OE (cf., for instance, Asteg ofer heanne munt Alfr.; Ofer healice dune astih du Aelfr.; v. OED), so that the contextual meaning may be 'out over, beyond', or the like.

Lund. O. Arngart.

Ex-service men. On p. 345 of the Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary there occurs the following entry:

Ex. J. 3. b. Add: ex-service adj., having formerly belonged to one of the fighting services.

1907 Daily Chron. 5 Dec. 6/7 March of the unemployed ex-service men through the West-end of London to Hyde Park. 1910 Vanity Fair 13 Jan. 55/1 Employment for ex-Service men is always a pressing question.

The paragraph in the main work to which reference is made reads as follows:

b. When the designation to which ex- is prefixed is a phrase, the hyphened prefix has the appearance of being attached simply to the first word. Hence ex- occas, occurs in actual combination with an adj., with sense 'formerly'.

Among the examples given are an ex-flogging Secretary of War, ex-Thuggee officers, ex-boarded-out boys, ex-Russian capital, an ex-Liberal ex-Lord Chancellor.

There appears to be a slight discrepancy between the definition in the Dictionary itself and the entry in the Supplement. It is one thing to say that in ex-service men ex- is prefixed to a phrase, and another to call ex-service

an adjective. To decide which description is preferable we must take a closer look at the 'phrases' collected by OED, to which we may add four specimens to be found in Jespersen's Modern English Grammar, VI, 26.83: ex-sailing-ship men, an ex-Irish M. P., ex-United States Senator, ex-Federal Trade Commissioner. In only three of them (ex-Thuggee officers, ex-Lord Chancellor, ex-sailing-ship men) is the 'first word' to which ex- is prefixed, as in ex-service men, a noun; in none of them should we term the combination of prefix and first word an adjective. But perhaps, in calling ex-service an adjective, the editor of the Supplement was thinking of such attributive groups as anti-vivisection (league), pre-Reformation (times), to which ex-service (men) does, indeed, bear a superficial resemblance. It must be pointed out, however, that whereas anti and pre in such formations have a distinctly prepositional force (against vivisection, before the Reformation. etc.), such is not the case with the prefix in ex-service (men).

If, then, we prefer to stick to the OED definition of a 'phrase' with exprefixed, the question arises whether such a 'phrase' as service men really exists; and if so, whether it is a fortuitous collocation (as in ex-sailing-ship men), or one of such stability and frequency as to be recorded in the dictionary. The evidence of the OED on this point is negative. S.v. Service 37. "Simple attrib., passing into adj.", in the sense of "belonging to the army or the navy; esp., employed on active service", we find service ammunition, bullet, charge, company, rifle, etc., but not service men or man. To the Army and the Navy the Supplement adds the Air Force, supplying a quotation from the Star, of Aug. 21, 1929: "Private and even Service pilots have appeared near to the station at prohibited times." Service men,

however, the Supplement does not register.1

Now any one reading only a few of the English and American newspapers and magazines poured into the liberated countries in 1945 cannot fail to have been struck by the exceedingly frequent occurrence of this very 'phrase' one seeks in vain in the OED and its Supplement. Here are a few examples:

A word to G I Wives ... Perhaps, if you are a serviceman's wife, you may find out about that let-down when he comes home ... The first thing to remember, if you are a serviceman's wife, is that nobody is to blame. ... Wives of servicemen cannot share all the past experiences of their husbands. ... It doesn't matter how the ex-serviceman reacts at first to normal living. (Coronet, Chicago, Jan. '45.)

Duty-free cigarettes sent to Servicemen in Europe ... (Daily Express, Aug. 14, 1945.)

In quiet interludes all over the world British Service men, long out of touch with civilian life, are questioning ... what kind of a world is being prepared for their return.

(Manchester Guardian Weekly, Oct. 19, 1945.)

The fighting is over — but there is a gigantic tidying-up job to be done in Europe and the Far East, and for thousands of Service men and women the order is "carry on", ... Naafi service is as essential for the well-being of the men and women of the Services during the transitional period from war to peace as it was during the heat of battle ... (The Observer, Oct. 21, 1945.)

¹ Ten Bruggencate-Broers, 13th ed., only has: "service-man, (Am.) monteur (in garage)."

... a man in uniform who was standing in a bus and refused to leave. Finally the bus drove off with the Serviceman still standing. (The Observer, Nov. 11, 1945.)

... the police station — last resort of the stranded Service man — ...
(Manchester Guardian Weekly, Dec. 21, 1945.)

To which may be added: .

... A Generation Risen (Collins, 1942, 12/6), a series of short poems on ordinary wartime situations amongst service people and civilians, ...

(Dr. F. T. Wood in E. Studies, Dec. 1945.)

The above quotations will suffice to show that service man and service men (as well as service women and even people) are now regular designations for men (resp. women) belonging to any of the military Services; that the two words are frequently written as one; and that from an analytical point of view there is little to choose between ex-serviceman and (for instance) ex-chancellor, ex-emperor, or ex-fisherman.

Still, a doubt persists. The words chancellor, emperor, fisherman were, of course, in regular use before ex- was ever prefixed to them. How is it that instances of ex-service men are available from 1907², whereas service men cannot at present be illustrated by any quotation prior to 1945?

Or can it? Have any readers noted the 'phrase' from the ephemeral or other literature of World War Number One, or from even older printed sources? And if so, would they kindly send me a few examples, with references?

The article in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of December 21, 1945, from which I quoted above, also contains an example of the attributive use of the plural Services:

... but there was an all-night Services canteen at Victoria Station ...
... an uneasy slumber snatched on the floor of a Services canteen where even floor-space was at a premium.

One would hardly expect to find experience to the word in this form and function; and yet, one morning last December, as I was walking down Regent Street, at the corner of Maddox Street, not far from Oxford Circus, I was struck by the following notice:

£ 1,000,000 Victory (ex-services) Club

Victory (ex-services) Club Appeal

This Club will benefit all ex-service men & women

² Cf. also: But the bulk of the first recruits were (to use the term current in the nineteentwenties) ex-servicemen — sailors and airmen as well as soldiers; ...
(Britain's Home Guard, 1945, p. 20.)

It may not look or sound elegant; but as a sample of linguistic shorthand it is certainly interesting. It also reminds one of the *OED* definition: "... the hyphened prefix has the appearance of being attached simply to the first word." It may even provide a clue to the Supplement's "ex-service adj." No doubt, as the quotation from Coronet shows, ex-serviceman usually bears the same relation to serviceman as ex-emperor to emperor; but sometimes the Englishman's linguistic sense seems to analyse ex-service man, not into ex and service man, but into ex-service and man, which, by 'contamination' with Services canteen (or club) may lead to such a phrase as Victory (ex-services) Club. To all appearance it is a case of unstable equilibrium.

Reviews

Der Einfluss des Schriftbildes auf die Aussprache im Neuenglischen. Von Eberhard Buchmann. (Sprache und Kultur der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker, Anglistische Reihe, Band XXXV). Breslau: Priebatschs Buchhandlung. 1940.

There have been isolated references to spelling-pronunciations ever since the phonological history of Modern English began to be studied, that is ever since the days of Ellis and Sweet. The first to subject them to a systematic examination was, of course, Professor Emil Koeppel. On the publication of his excellent, but slender monograph 1, in which some 300 cases were dealt with, reviewers expressed their surprise that there should be so many of them. And now Dr. Buchmann comes to surprise our generation by listing no fewer than some 3000 words whose regular phonetic development has been affected by their spelling! This fuller treatment, as the author points out, has been made possible by the increase and perfection of the materials since Koeppel's days. In this connection it will suffice to mention the completion of the NED, the appearance of Jones's Pronouncing Dictionary (3rd edition in 1937), the publication of Luick's Historische Grammatik, and many special studies on details of historical phonology.

Dr. Buchmann deserves high praise for the way in which he has accomplished his task; his book is a very sound piece of work. The only slightly disappointing part is the Introduction, which is rather meagre. He rightly points out that spelling-pronunciations can only arise in languages where there is a great difference between pronunciation and spelling and that in English the conditions for the development of this remarkable phenomenon are exceedingly favourable, as the current orthography is largely based on the language of the late Middle Ages. This is, no doubt,

¹ Spelling-Pronunciations: Bemerkungen über den Einfluss des Schriftbildes auf den Laut im Englischen. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker, Heft 89). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901.

perfectly true, but we should have been grateful for a fuller discussion of the principles underlying spelling-pronunciations, especially of the historical and social conditions under which, and the psychological causes through which they arise. He might, for instance, have pointed out that besides the existence of a fixed spelling-system, they presuppose that a large proportion of the population knows the art of reading. Both conditions were not fulfilled in England until the eighteenth century. The striking increase of spelling-pronunciations in the nineteenth century was no doubt fostered by the spread of education, culminating in the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which exposed every child to the influence of the printed word. Another factor must have been the rapid quantitative increase of readingmatter (periodicals and newspapers). Readers of Miss Soames' Introduction to the Study of Phonetics may also be inclined to take into account the pathetic striving after "refainment" and "correctness" that is the regrettable concomitant of the snobbism among the English middle classes. These and similar considerations make it intelligible that spelling should not only affect words belonging to the literary language, but also those in everyday use (always, backward, soldier, etc.). In the case of proper names - both personal and geographical — the cause is often mere ignorance of the traditional form, the latter or its lineal descendant being preserved among the bearers of the name 2 or, in the case of places, among the local inhabitants. On all this, however, the author is silent. must therefore conclude that he has let slip an excellent opportunity for placing the phenomenon of spelling-pronunciation within the framework of general linguistics, he is to be complimented unreservedly for the purely technical part of his work.

He devotes the first and major portion of it to the influence of traditional spelling, the second to those changes in pronunciation that were caused by artificial alterations in orthography (mostly erroneous etymologies), and the third to ambiguity of spellings as a source of acoustic changes. In determining whether the pronunciation of a given word is affected by spelling or not, the author exercises a laudable caution, rejecting everything that does not seem absolutely certain or admits of another interpretation. Thus he does not mention a word like *lethal*, which may seem an omission in view of L. *letalis*, but the etymon of the English word is obviously the variant Latin spelling *lethalis*, which arose out of an erroneous connection with $\Lambda \eta \partial \eta$. Holofernes was evidently also active in ancient Rome.

The author has not merely been content to record the cases where the regular development of words has been arrested or counteracted by their written form, but has also been at pains to determine when in each case the spelling-pronunciation set in, gained ground, and was finally victorious. To this end he has called in the evidence of a host of contemporary lexicographers, grammarians, orthoepists, and spelling-reformers, from Salesbury in 1547 down to Stormonth in 1876.

² Thus in Holland the name Querido [kri do] is almost without exception pronounced [kve·rido].

The chief requisite for the detection and interpretation of spelling-pronunciations is, of course, a thorough knowledge of the phonological development of Modern English. Dr. Buchmann does not fall short in this respect. He shows himself fully conversant with all the established theories in this field. The result is that his work forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge. A very welcome feature of his book is the inclusion of many proper names. Completeness in this matter is, of course, out of the question and the author will therefore, I am sure, accept my assurance that the following additions are offered in no spirit of criticism, but as a token of the interest with which I have perused his work.

Auchinleck is now almost universally ['okinlik, -lek], the regular [æflik] being restricted to the illuminati.

The introduction of [p] in pseudo-, psyche-, psychic and Psyche (though not in psalm), which may be observed among a small minority of English speakers, is evidently

a spelling-pronunciation.

Among the words where weak medial [h] has been re-introduced may be included hedgehog and washhouse. The 'regular' forms [hed3bg] and [wbf3s] are now restricted to the illiterate. Dr. B. may, of course, have rejected these words as not being indisputable instances of spelling-pronunciations. The [h] may have been re-introduced because the feeling for the meaning of the component parts is still alive. The same applies to penthouse, in which word, however, the spelling and the pronunciation are based on popular etymology (Fr. apentis, apendis).

The local pronunciation of Wadhurst and Midhurst in Sussex is [wbdəst, midəst].

The forms [wbdh3st] and [midh3st] are spelling-pronunciations.

The form [atoum] is now quite usual among educated speakers for at home.

The more usual pronunciation of *mistletoe* is now with [s], instead of with regular [z]. The name *Dunelm* is now, like *Kenelm*, pronounced with [l]. So is *Marylebone*, although the older [mæribən, -rəbən] is still heard.

By the side of [rivn], Ruthven, some new spelling-pronunciations have arisen: [rup-,

rabven, -vin].

De Crespigny is now either [dəkrepini] or, because of the spelling, [dəkrespini].

Knowsley, Lord Derby's Lancashire country-seat is — according to Professor Cecil Wyld — almost universally called [nouzli]. The true descendant of O.E. Kenulfes Lēah and M.E. Knouesli or Knou(1)wesli is heard in the now vulgar [nauzli].

According to Elphinstone 1790 initial h was also mute in Humphrey.

To the words written with th and pronounced with [b] instead of with etymologically correct [t] might possibly be added sabbath. The Vulgate has sabbatum, the Septuagint sabbaton. Another case is Arthur.

Between § 84 and 85 there might be inserted another section: Die Zeichenverbindung p + h. I can only contribute one example: Bispham in Lancs. is either [bispəm] or Ibisfəm].

To § 86 might be added Bethune [bebjun] or [bitn]. But Streatham is always [stretam].

Xylomite in § 36 is no doubt a misprint for xylonite.

Been was always [bin] in the early nineteenth century, as it is still in American; the long vowel is a spelling-pronunciation.

To the group blackguard, rampart, Tamar, etc. which have [d] in the last syllable under the influence of the spelling may be added Registrar.

The family name St. Leger is [silin(d)30, selin(d)30], but we speak of the [snt'led30] races.

Leiden.

Tradition and Romanticism. Studies in English Poetry from Chaucer to W. B. Yeats. By B. IFOR EVANS. 213 pp. London: Methuen & Co. 1940. 6/— net.

This is a book which should cause many of us to re-think our attitude and our approach to English poetry as well as to revise our ideas upon the subject of romanticism. At the beginning of this century a good deal was written upon the romantic and the classical conceptions of literature, and usually the bias was in favour of the romantic. More recently a reaction has set in and, perhaps under the influence of the spirit of an age which has come to reject the claims of the individual and to regard them as a symptom of decadence, romanticism has been treated with contempt and disparagement. Professor Evans' book is something by way of a rejoinder to this reaction. Not that he wishes to reinstate the romantic poets and decry the classicists, or to open up once again the old controversy. Rather he seeks to make peace between the two camps by showing that actually the terms "classic" and "romantic" are too vague to have any real meaning, that none of the great poets will fall conveniently into either category, and that therefore the discussion is futile, if not actually mischievous. disastrous result of this contemporary discussion", he writes, "is to narrow our conception of the tradition and continuity of our verse at a time when an emphasis on their existence would be valuable." So, surveying English poetry from Chaucer to the present day, he finds in it a continuity of spirit which goes deeper than anything implied in the terms "classic" and "romantic", and links the writers of the twentieth century, through those of the Renaissance, to their predecessors of the fourteenth. His conclusions are summarised at the opening of his final chapter. "In English verse a certain compromise between extreme doctrines has existed. While romanticism has never reached in England the same precise and emphatic definition as in France and Germany, elements of romanticism have been found in English poetry over a longer period, and in more varied ways, than elsewhere. For the very reason that the "romantic" has been mixed and diluted in England there has been possible a marked continuity of tradition." And to go back to the introduction: "With two or three exceptions all our major poets have found merit and enjoyment in the verse of their predecessors, even when they themselves have written in a different manner. This sense of compromise, with a consequent mingling of one form with another, has been one of the most distinctive features of our poetry."

The first great illustration of his thesis Professor Evans finds in the poetry of Chaucer, whose outlook seems one of "a happy open-mindedness" which found its expression in a union of opposites. But perhaps even more he finds it in Langland, who created no school and exerted no conscious influence either upon his contemporaries or upon later ages, yet in different ways anticipated writers so divergent as Spenser, Dryden and Coleridge. Professor Evans has laid his finger on the weak spot in so much of the theorising and hair-splitting about classic and romantic in English literature

when he points out that the greater part of it really concerns itself with Continental standards and criteria, and is therefore usually beside the mark, since English romanticism has been something quite distinct and different in character from the Continental, a fact nowhere more apparent than in the works of Shakespeare. And he indulges in some interesting speculations upon the possible effect upon English drama if the nineteenth century Shakespeare idolatry had not obscured the solid merits of Ben Jonson as a

model for playwrights in an industrial age. But one of the most interesting facts that emerge from the book is that all the great poets, whether they are conventionally labelled "classic" or "romantic", did, in fact, experience and frequently expressed, either directly or through symbolism, deep spiritual yearnings. In the Satan of Paradise Lost, for instance, Professor Evans sees "the supreme instance in our poetry of the meeting of the classical and the romantic, ... a figure which in one disguise or another became the justification of the individual questing for experience." Something of the same combination is found, in a different way, in Dryden, who delighted in decorum yet provided the romantic extravagancies of the heroic plays. As Satan symbolised the rebel in Milton, so Ulysses represented the adventurer in Tennyson; and similarly Matthew Arnold, classical as he was in some respects, expressed his own inner self in Empedocles. Incidentally the author defends Tennyson against the depreciation of recent critics, at the same time challenging the too frequent adulation of Browning which has accompanied it. "Tennyson", he declares. "faced life with the sadness of vision; Browning was jubilant because he had never seen."

Professor Evans' remarks on all his poets individually are illuminating: but the great and the central fact that he brings out is that none were strictly classical or romantic; that all, in one way or another, were a compromise between the two, and that herein lies the traditional element in their work.

The few writers that have been mentioned do not represent the full extent of the author's inquiry. He devotes, for instance, a chapter to Pope and another to the eighteenth century; and he is careful to point out that Wordsworth's reaction was not only against the artificial diction of the neo-classics but even more against the extravagancies of the early romantics of the Gothic school. On the nineteenth century, which he has long made his own, he has much to say, and in the modern period he shows how T. S. Eliot, who in his critical work has stressed tradition, is yet in some respects linked poetically to the romantics, and how, ironically enough, by his satirical introduction of references to and phrases from older writers into his own works, he has helped to destroy the sense of tradition which he wished to preserve. So the conclusion reached, at the end of the study, is that the traditional element in English poetry has been very strong ever since the days of Chaucer, that part of it consists in tendencies which might well be called romantic, but that it is impossible to use the term to describe any particular type or school of poetry. It is rather a spirit, which has manifested itself in many different poets in many different ways, and far from its being antagonistic to tradition, in English poetry the two have always been complementary. This is Professor Evans' great achievement; though in fairness to other critics it must be stated that he admits that "at the same time the polarity of 'classical' and 'romantic' often remains as the most tangible way in which the problem 'the progress of poetry' can be approached."

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

The Poetry of W. B. Yeats. By Louis MacNeice. xi + 242 pp. Oxford University Press, 1941. 8s. 6d.

Mr. MacNeice's aim in writing this critical account of the poetry of W. B. Yeats is straightforward. He gives his readers a discussion of Yeats's subject matter, his dominating ideas, his prevalent likes and dislikes during various periods of his life:

In reading Yeats it seems to me to be helpful to know who Yeats was, who were his friends, what were his literary influences, political opinions, and social prejudices. These things were not the cause of his poetry but they were among its conditions.

In the main Mr. MacNeice has succeeded in his objectives. He has recorded how Yeats began in the Celtic Twilight "then moved on to a period of occasional and disillusioned poetry, and finally took to expressing an esoteric philosophy in verse that is symbolic but hard".

Delmore Schwartz 1 has described what seemed to him the necessary requirements of anyone who should write successfully about W. B. Yeats: this ideal author was to be poet and critic who, although not Irish, enjoys and suffers a place in his time and country analogous to Yeats's. He thought that an Anglo-Irishman might perhaps be a suitable person. Mr. MacNeice's critical study is certainly the better and truer for his being an Anglo-Irishman, because he can write of Yeats from a fuller and more understanding viewpoint:

When I read Yeats's account of his childhood I find many things which are echoed in my own or in that of other Irish people I know — in particular, the effects of loneliness, or a primitive rural life; the clannish obsession with one's own family; the combination of an anarchist individualism with puritanical taboos and inhibitions; the half-envious contempt for England; the constant desire to show off; a sentimental attitude to Irish history; a callous indifference to those outside the gates; an identification of Ireland with the spirit and of England with crass materialism.

All through this book there is evidence that Mr. MacNeice is especially interested in the relation of Yeats to his contemporaries. His account of the general background to Yeats's poetry of the nineties is well written,

Delmore Schwartz, "An Unwritten Book." Southern Review, 1942.

though he attaches a little too much importance to Pater's influence. Pater was used by Yeats as a model for style rather than life; and Yeats's own life played a larger part in the early poems than is generally recognised by critics. For instance, Mr. MacNeice's supposition that Yeats knew nothing of physical love until he was forty is incorrect (it is tentatively suggested that Yeats wrote stronger poetry after he was forty); an unpublished autobiographical document (at present in the possession of Mrs. W. B. Yeats) gives an account of the poet's first love affair which took place in 1896 when he was thirty-one years old. The hopeless infatuation for Maud Gonne is well treated, and its odi et amo nature sufficiently well stressed.

The account of the poet's development after the turn of the century is more satisfactory than the treatment of his earlier writings, where a little more attention might well have been paid to explaining the chronological order of Yeats's poetic progress. Admittedly Yeats is haphazard, and inconsistent; he emasculated some of the Celtic originals which he used as materials, and Thomas MacDonagh's description 2 of the Irish literary movement is aptly quoted:

To us as to the ancient Irish poets the half said thing is dearest.

That Yeats had a dream-like life is certain but enough has not been made of this. It is not enough to call his early poetry "poetic" and discuss it as if it were detached from the poet's whole being. Yeats himself was living in a poetic daydream during the nineties from which he gradually emerged as his experience of life increased. Mr. MacNeice has, however, dealt admirably with this mixture of extremes which became sharper as Yeats grew older, when it seemed to the poet that his muse, which had been old when he was young, was growing younger. This antithesis was the inspiration of much of Yeats's obscure personal symbolism. Mr. MacNeice does not explain fully the references made by Yeats in his poetry to contemporary events, especially to the details of Irish life which may not be obvious to non-Irish readers. Yeats's biographer 3 has described these events, but has not linked them intimately with the poems. Mr. MacNeice is to be praised for his comparisons with and observations on continental symbolist poets, as well as for his apt summary of Yeats's general attitude to public matters. Witness this concise account of a complex process:

Yeats's own view of Ireland was not consistent throughout his life... In his early days he tries to equate Ireland with a Celtic Utopia — a land of beautiful dreams ... During this period his nationalism was orthodox and romantic. In his middle years some experience of public life and politics disillusioned him. The kind of nationalism he admired... was in a decline. The nationalism dominant seemed to him to involve a shocking waste of energy and to have ruined the lives of a number of his friends. It was vulgar... Ireland now seemed the enemy rather than the patroness of poetry — 'the seeming needs of my fool-driven land'.

Thomas MacDonagh. Literature in Ireland: Studies Irish and Anglo-Irish. 1916.
 J. M. Hone, William Butler Yeats: 1865-1939. 1942.

After Yeats became a Senator of the Irish Free State and won the Nobel prize he became more satisfied with his personal position and grew less bitter. His interest in the short-lived Irish fascist movement led by General O'Duffy was temporary; Mr. MacNeice was the first to write of fascist tendencies in Yeats, and it is probable that he laid too much stress on them. Yeats was a lover of the gracious and noble, and he found that the aristocracy and the peasantry supplied him with examples of life above and below conventional morality; that did not mean that he would have tolerated bestiality. He foresaw fully the ruin coming in the war which broke out shortly after his death (this occurred in Janua: y 1939); and he, like Lawrence, was born in the wrong age. He could never fully integrate himself in contemporary society, whether good or bad, and his brief interest in fascism was inspired by curiosity.

The main value of this book lies in its lively comparisons, its attempts to estimate the reality or the importance to Yeats of certain predominant ideas — Yeats once told his wife that he spent his life saying the same thing in different ways. Mr. MacNeice is enthusiastic and interesting. He writes knowing that Yeats often used facts as 'soft putty'; yet he is convinced of Yeats's integrity as a poet. His enthusiasm and interest are the more acceptable because of his knowledge of the poet's strange antithetical outlook,

Oxford.

A. Norman Jeffares.

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(To be continued)

James Fenimore Cooper and the Democracy of Switzerland

Like his greater contemporary and rival, Walter Scott, Fenimore Cooper was a realist among the Romantics. So long as the Romantic factor remained predominant in the critical canon by which he was measured, the elements of observation and analysis in his work were obscured or found insufficient. Now that Romanticism seems definitely to have died out in criticism too, the other Cooper, the observer of contemporary problems as mirrored in romantic material, is becoming more and more apparent, and the epoch of his life that long remained the most enigmatic and inscrutable is slowly emerging into light. To this period of his violent warfare with his countrymen his travel-books intimately belong, and among them the book on Switzerland takes a prominent position, - if only for the fact that it illustrates more than any other the positive aspects of Cooper's political thought. This small country, at that time the only federal republic in Europe, was bound to act as a mirror to his conceptions, as a clarifying agent for his opinions, and his sojourn among the Cantons - his second visit took place a year before his return home - marks the close of his political Lehrjahre and is the prelude to his emergence as what he essentially was, a man of action.

For, until he was thirty there was no indication that Cooper ever dreamed of becoming a writer. He was born at Burlington, N. J., in 1789. Like many people in the middle colonies, his parents were not purely English and Cooper was proud of the supposed admixture of Scandinavian and Huquenot blood in his veins. His father owned a large farm and had bought an enormous tract of land in central New York State on speculation: 100,000 acres around Otsego Lake, in the heart of the wilderness. This district had been kept clear of settlements by the British government, who maintained a protective hand over the Iroquois Indians whose hunting ground it was. But during the Revolutionary war an American army had destroyed the power of the Iroquois and the State of New York opened the country to settlement. In 1790 Cooper's father began a village at the outlet of Otsego Lake and erected a large house as his dwelling which he called Otsego Hall. In this village on the frontier Cooper grew up, between rough frontier farmers, hunters and trappers, with their very vivid recollections of the Indians, on the one hand, and the grand style of the 18th century life that his father developed on the other. Obviously intended for the life of a gentleman, he was sent to a private school at Albany,

A lecture given at Zürich in January 1945, revised and abridged. E. S. XXVII. 1946.

where he was taught by a Church-of-England clergyman who hated the upstart spirit of the new republic and despised the Yankees of New England. Much of this man's teaching went into young Cooper's blood and never left him. He was then sent to Yale; but a year before graduating he was dismissed for remissness and neglect of his studies. He was obviously not a bookish man! The next step is characteristic. For a New Yorker, even one of the wealthier class, the obvious thing in Cooper's situation would have been a business career, or at least that of a lawyer. But he preferred something more active and adventurous: he decided to become a naval officer. After a year he was commissioned a midshipman and later became a lieutenant; but he never rose higher and quit after a couple of years. He actually saw very little service at sea, being employed on Lake Ontario in the construction of a series of gunboats built out of the living wood of the forest. The sea hence became for him a kind of nostalgia and a romantic love. In real life he settled down for good on the land, marrying into one of the aristocratic families of New York, the DeLancys, and leading the life of a country gentleman. His wife's family had been Tories during the Revolution, i.e. people who held with the British government against the revolutionary colonists; one of his wife's sisters was actually then living in England and never came back. These people had a very strong sense of caste and were socially as undemocratic as any English peer of that day. They strengthened in Cooper his natural leaning toward the aristocratic form of life and for ten years he seems to have been perfectly content, living on his wife's estate in Westchester county just north of New York with a fine view over Long Island Sound, or spending a few months in the year at Cooperstown, his paternal village on Otsego Lake.

Then the accident happened that threw him into literature and Cooper was launched as a professional novelist. His career went up like a rocket. During the next few years he wrote one masterpiece after the other, The Pioneers, The Pilot and The Last of the Mohicans among them. He became an important man in New York, gathered a group of artists, writers, lawyers and medical men - chiefly men of the practical professions, though rarely a business man! - about him who called themselves the Bread and Cheese Club, and when in 1825 Lafayette came over on a visit to America and was received by the whole country with the wildest enthusiasm. Cooper was on the committee that welcomed him at New York. The following year, i.e. in the summer of 1826, he took his family over to Europe. trip was partly a business one — Cooper's books were being read in various languages all over Europe and he wanted to regulate their sale and partly for the education of his children; he wanted to bring up his daughters in France. But largely it was, as he himself confessed, Reiselust pure and simple that suggested the journey, and it was in this spirit that he actually carried it through. The family was settled at Paris, while the novelist, sometimes with his wife or some of the children, often alone. went on trips to various other parts of the Continent. Finally, after seven years of wandering, they returned to America in the fall in 1833.

It was not a joyful home-coming. Cooper had started for Europe at the height of his literary success, the most popular man of letters in America. But years before he turned his face homeward again, he had felt a change in the feelings of his countrymen. After about 1830 reports of unpleasant remarks about his activities in Europe came to his ears and echoes of unfavorable criticism of his literary work. He himself was dissatisfied with much that was going on in the political world at home and friends warned him that he would find great changes when he returned. While still in Europe he began answering the aspersions against him and added to a satire on England a number of chapters on the U.S. By the time he reached New York his feeling was so exasperated that even his warm friends, who were willing to support him and wished to show their loyalty, could do nothing with him. He refused to go to the dinner that they arranged for him, and when he took to the public prints to express his opinions, an open war broke out between him and the American Press. He published an Open Letter to his Countrymen, in which he told them plainly what he was dissatisfied with; he published his satire. The Monikins (= the monkies!); he wrote several novels, Homeward Bound and Home as Found, in which he drew a very unflattering picture of American society, and even in later novels, in which he treats of earlier aspects of American life, such as Satanstoe, The Chainbearer, etc., some of which are splendid examples of his narrative art at its best, he cannot refrain from sprinkling caustic remarks, parenthetical observations and whole footnotes comparing the good old times with the disgusting present. The newspapers, then the chief vehicles of literary criticism, answered with the violent personal attacks that were the usual thing at that time. Cooper was at first ready to return to Europe; abroad he had always been not only a loyal but a militant patriot, and he felt the ingratitude of the American Press most bitterly. But then he decided to stay and fight it out. And now he began the famous series of actions for libel against a number of newspapers that had attacked him most flagrantly. One editor or owner after the other was hauled before a court of justice and fined or forced to retract his statements or was otherwise punished. Cooper carried every action through practically alone and won every one of them. After five years not a newspaper in the country dared to be uncivil to him. However, though he lost his personal popularity, he wrote during these years some of his best stories and retained as artist his hold on his public as firmly as ever. But this magnificent fight single-handed against such odds clouded his life, and though with his friends he was the same he had always been, he felt a deep resentment against the American public. During his last illness this became evident in his refusal to have a biography written about himself after his death. He died at Cooperstown in 1851.

Now, what were the deeper reasons for this almost tragical turn in Cooper's relations with his countrymen? For many generations it seemed to be primarily his own haughty nature. Many people thought then and think even now that Cooper was a conceited aristocrat, an English country

gentleman raised by mistake in democratic America, showing all the failings and only some of the virtues of that class: pride, arrogance, selfishness, cold reserve, an opinionated stubbornness, self-will and self-assertion. That is the picture created by the contemporary Press. But the reports of his real friends are quite different. N. P. Willis, a well-known writer of that day, says of Cooper: "He is very striking in his personal appearance - of a cold, military address — a severe eye of a peculiarly light grey — a commanding head, and an expression of decision about his mouth, amounting at times to austerity. It is this unconciliating and easily mistaken manner and look, probably, which had prejudiced against him all who have not had the opportunity of knowing him more intimately." To these he was a very warm-hearted, frank, helpful and loyal friend, who was outspoken in expressing his opinions, but who accepted corrections with patience and who seems to have been free from any petty vanity of an intellectual nature. In a word, he was a man all through, and his character alone cannot account for the fate he met with. There must have been other factors.

Politics certainly was one. Cooper belonged to the Democratic party and practically all his opponents were Whigs, the predecessors of our modern Republicans. Cooper, in his writings, repeatedly claimed to have no party prejudice, and in general that was undoubtedly true; but during the years when the scandal was at its height, it was the Democratic press that supported him, and his success was not only a personal justification, but a party triumph as well. But politics in the ordinary sense are not enough to explain the situation; above all, they do not explain the existence of this extremely class-conscious man, who in his travel-books makes such a parade of the high-born people he consorted with, in the ranks of the Democratic party; they do not explain the peculiar character of Cooper's democracy.

To understand this, we must make a short excursion into the earlier history of the U.S. The quarrel between the Colonies and England had begun over taxation and the legal right of the Westminster Parliament to impose taxes on the unrepresented Colonies. Such a question naturally affects the business men and their lawyers, and the struggle was fought in America mainly by the wealthy merchants and upper classes of the towns on the coast: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston. These people, however, had close business, social and cultural connections with England, and when the War broke out and the radical elements, supported by the farmers and frontier population, who had practically no relations with Europe at all, demanded independence, the upper classes in the towns recoiled. Many of them remained loyal to England and left the country when the War was over, from them came the settlers of Upper Canada. But some remained and some came back - among them the De Lancys and became the nucleus, in the new State, of an aristocracy that stood in opposition to the radical elements that triumphed in the War. It comprised the large land-owners, merchants and financiers, and they gained control of affairs in the convention that produced the Constitution. During the Napoleonic wars America was the only neutral nation on the seas, and

these people became increasingly rich; while on the other hand a steady stream of population was crossing the mountains and settling in the Ohio Valley. These settlers, however, were not rich; they were mainly poor and the debtors of the wealthy population in the East. They were practically all farmers, a vast agrarian community that was developing in the West, while on the Coast the upper classes were more and more centred in the towns: the shipping and fishing industries of New England in Boston, the commercial and banking interests in Philadelphia and New York. There was as yet no industry of importance in our modern sense, but the social tension was between the agrarian democrats of the West and the capitalist conservatives in the large towns of the East. The election of Andrew Jackson by the Democrats in 1828 broke the power of the Whigs for a generation, and during these decades the American democracy that most of us know today began its development. And it was into the turmoil caused by these changes that Cooper returned home from Europe.

Cooper himself had been born a Whig; Judge Cooper trained his son in the Whig tradition and the novelist married in it. But unlike Cooper, the De Lancys were American Tories, i.e. opposed to the American State as such. This spirit Cooper must have met with often enough in his wife's family circle, and as an American officer he must have resented it. Hence his conception of the American Gentleman - with the emphasis on both words! In this spirit he went to Europe, as a gentleman he expected to be received in the highest circles of society, always intensely interested in the rank of the people he met, and constantly occupied with social distinctions. He wrote home with obvious satisfaction that a French nobleman had proposed marriage to his daughter. But Cooper adds that the offer was refused, since they preferred to remain Americans. And as an American he became more and more sensitive about the treatment he received. He was practically always with a chip on his shoulder; over and over again he remarks on European ignorance of, and disrespect for, America, and any lack of courtesy he noticed is put down, not to his own social faults, which were probably more flagrant than he himself realized - in England an aristocratic lady called him "The Red Rover" — but to his being an American. It was the day when dozens of books on America appeared, written by European travellers who had been there for a few months chiefly English travellers, of course, but some French and German - and these people were not great political philosophers like Alexis de Tocqueville, but superficial observers, whose remarks were usually uncomplimentary, often wrong and unjust and now and then downright stupid and malicious. Now Cooper was seeing with a sharp eye the condition of Europe as it really was in Metternich's day; in 1832 he wrote home: "You in America know nothing of the corruption and abuses of this part of the world, and you cry out against vices of government that would be thought perfection here." Hence he became very angry, but not so much at the foreign critics as at the serious attention that was paid them by the Americans, who often had a falsely idealized conception of Europe. He wrote an ironical

book on Notions of the Americans by a Travelling Englishman, to correct some of the false accusations made by Europeans, and three of his novels — The Bravo, The Headsman of Berne and The Heidenmauer — were frank attempts to treat historical themes from an American point of view. Cooper's thesis in his books is that even the more liberal political institutions of the past were essentially tyrannies and not based on a recognition of human rights, and that even the European liberalism of his own day was only a relative democracy and not a true one. European liberty, as he saw it then, was merely a kind of franchise wrested by the people from the governing classes, while American democracy was the only true freedom, since the final power rested in the people.

The test of Cooper's principles came naturally when he returned to America. And we must confess they broke down. Or rather, Cooper came to experience more and more sharply the discrepancy between the theory and the practice of American democracy. For one thing, he saw that the Whiq party had become a kind of oligarchy of wealthy merchants, the type of go-getting Yanker that he despised to the bitter end. For another thing, most of the important newspapers belonged to these people, and what they criticised was just what he was proud of, viz. his patriotic American attitude while in Europe. Obviously, Cooper did not belong to such a crowd; he was an agrarian and a Jacksonian democrat, with a sincere admiration for the energetic President. On the other hand, however, his democracy was strictly legal and political, and not social. His attacks on American society are directed against two main points: the newly-rich upper classes, their ignorance and bad manners and their lack of moral responsibility and intellectual independence, and the low standard of public morality. He did not realize, it seems, that political and economic power go together and that both tend to demand social recognition - not to speak of the Spoils System and the power of money in politics. He did not see that his own democratic principles - he wrote a book about them. The American Democrat, that has been reprinted in our own day - undermined his social preferences and that democracy and social exclusiveness will not go together long. For him it was a tragedy, for it broke down his ideal of America. the ideal he was so proud of and had fought for so bravely in Europe.

Of Cooper's travel-books — several volumes each on France, England Switzerland and Italy — the first to be published was Switzerland, in 1836. Cooper was in the depths of his dejection at American conditions at the time, and possibly the book was an expression of his nostalgia for the country in which, probably, he had been happiest while in Europe. On the other hand, however, we must not expect a full analysis of Swiss society and institutions! He had been in the country only a comparatively short time, three months in the summer of 1828, and again for a month or two in 1832. Four or five months are even for Cooper's energy — and he worked hard while he was here! — not enough to get very far beyond the scenery, and most of his Swiss reminiscences are casual descriptions of Land und Leute. But he was not an ordinary tourist by any means; his eye

was sharp for human affairs, just as his enthusiasm was always ready for the beauty of the landscape, and his book is in its distribution of lights and shades one of the best pictures of Switzerland in the first half of the 19th century.

He came with his family in a coach from Paris and entered Switzerland via Pontarlier and the Val de Travers on Saturday the 17th of July 1828. Their first view of the Alps, while still in France, far off on the horizon, raised in him and his family a state of feverish excitement that subsequently never left them and that he called a touzy-mouzy. They pressed on to Berne after a day of rest at Neuchâtel, and were soon settled at La Lorraine, the house recently occupied by the Napoleonic king of Holland. The care-taker was a Herr Walther, with whom Cooper had long talks on politics and history and who gave him advice about his tours. The first was a short one to Hindelbank to see the monuments in the old church. Then, early in August, they set out to visit the Alps they had been admiring every day from the terrace of their house, and spent four delightful days in the Oberland. Cooper's touzy-mouzy knew no bounds, but his sharp and cool eye did not miss things to criticise.

On August 25th they set out on a much more extensive journey towards northern and eastern Switzerland. It is this trip which distinguishes Cooper's travels from those of the ordinary tourist, for he was obviously interested not only in the picturesque landscape, but in the home of an ancient republican democracy as well — though he does not expatiate much on this theme, but sticks to description and observation. They travelled down the Aare Valley and up the Rhine to Schaffhausen and Constance, along the Lake to the Upper Rhine, across the Stoss Pass to Appenzell and St. Gallen, and home via Rapperswil, Zürich, Zug, the Rigi and Lucerne.

The trip had lasted eleven days, but the season was so far advanced that there was no time to lose. After only a very few days of rest, Cooper started off again on September 8th. His family came along as far as Thun and there Cooper went on alone with an old man as a guide. They went up the Lakes by boat as far as Brienz and then crossed the Brünig on foot to Stans and Stansstaad, where they took a boat and rowed up the Lake of Lucerne toward Flüelen, but were turned back by a sudden Föhn-storm and decided to cross over to Einsiedeln instead. Thence they travelled via Glarus to Ragaz and up into the Grisons where, on the Oberalp Pass, the guide lost his head in a snow-storm and Cooper reached safety with the help of a compass. After an excursion down the Schöllenen, Cooper proceeded across the Furca to the Rhone Glacier and over the Grimsel Pass to Interlaken and La Lorraine.

Again Cooper took only a few days of rest, after this strenuous trip through the heart of the mountains, and set out again on September 24th—this time to Lausanne and Geneva. A few days later he returned to Berne and began his preparations for the final journey which was to take them all to Italy. On October 8th they left La Lorraine for the last time, taking an affectionate farewell of Herr Walther and his family, and travelled up

the Valais to Brig. They crossed the Simplon in one day, getting up at three o'clock in the morning to do so, and arrived at Domodossola at

nightfall.

On his second visit in August 1832 Cooper and his family entered Switzerland at Schaffhausen and travelled via Zürich, Rapperswil, Einsiedeln, the Lake of Zug, Lucerne and Meiringen to Berne. They stayed only a few days, when they went to Lake Geneva and settled in a villa called Mon Repos at Vevey, which became their home for the next five weeks. From here they made the excursions up and down the Lake and into the Valais which furnished Cooper the materials for his novel The Headsman. In September they left Geneva for Paris.

Naturally, the most lasting impression Cooper took with him out of Switzerland was that of the scenery. He lived in a romantic age and came of a romantic people, and the Alps were just entering upon the period of their great popularity with the travelling public. In fact, Cooper's book is full of interesting details about the technique of "tourisme" at the time, but his interest was not restricted to the Alps. — it included what he called the rare beauty of the pastoral lowlands, as well - and he realized that even without the Alps and the Jura mountains, the country around Berne would remain one of the most lovely landscapes in Europe. Indeed, that was his very first impression when he entered Switzerland and saw its neatness, cleanliness and order - the cottages, the meadows, the woods and the roads, everything exquisitely proportioned and delightfully right. "We had never before witnessed such a nature", he says, "and to me it really seemed that I had never before seen so faultless an exhibition of art." This early touzy-mouzy wore off, of course, but the fundamental pleasure in the less heroic aspects of the Swiss countryside remained till the end, in spite of the inevitable disappointments of travelling in those days, and this was one of the distinguishing marks of Cooper's attitude.

His admiration of the Alps was naturally more in the line of convention. They towered above everything else, of course. But again his approach is singularly honest, straightforward and manly. His descriptions are not romantically poetic; he had probably read too much of that kind of feeble stuff and felt too keenly the impossibility of putting into words what his eyes took in and what filled his soul. But the soberness of his observations carries for us today, a greater persuasive force than any rhetorical masterpiece could. In his clear-eyed American way he came nearer to seeing the Alps as the Swiss themselves see them, than if he had produced a flamboyant prose poem about them. For him the Alps were, moreover, something of an ethical force; not only that the deeper patriotism of the Swiss as he sees it, is largely due to the beauty of their country, but the mountains are a power making for a more elevated morality. That comes out in his novel The Headsman. The heroine is the daughter of a Bernese nobleman and Bernburger; she is in love with a fine young man who saves her father's life during a storm on Lake Geneva. But shortly after, he tells her that his father - secretly - is the headsman, the common executioner of Berne, a person unclassed and shunned by everybody. That is Cooper's social problem: Will the old nobleman's profession of humanitarian democracy stand the test of this disclosure? It does; the nobleman accepts the headsman's son as his son-in-law, but this victory is not won till the party has left the lowlands about Vevey and reached the heights of the Pass of St. Bernhard. Among the austere beauties of the Alps a heroic decision such as his becomes a possibility. However, Cooper's readers were not heroic, and to satisfy them the fine young man in the end turns out to be the long-lost son of the Doge of Genoa! But this weak ending for practical reasons does not essentially alter the nature of his feeling for the Alps.

In dealing with Cooper's estimates of the other aspects of Switzerland, we must remember that he wrote his travel-books with a very definite purpose. He wanted to offset the cheap and unjust criticism of America by Europeans and to correct what he regarded as the equally cheap and unjust idealization of Europe by many educated Americans. Hence, his travel-books are full of comparisons with America and full of disparaging remarks about Europe. The Switzerland-book is no exception, and even the Swiss landscape has to submit to the same treatment, while his view of the Swiss people and Swiss institutions, though just and not at all unfriendly, is distinctly colored by this tendency.

The general cleanliness and orderliness of the towns and houses, the health and vigor and reliable honesty of the population he soon got so used to that when occasionally a district does not come up to this standard, as happened in the Valais and one or two other places, he remarks indignantly that it is not really Swiss. Swiss architecture, to be sure, did not impress him after seeing Paris, and he rates it no higher than American architecture. The covered wooden bridges, indeed, actually reminded him of home. The boats on the lakes he positively despises; for his sailor eyes they were too high, too heavy and too clumsy. And the costumes of the women were a disappointment, too; they look better in pictures, L. says, than in reality.

His remarks about the people are casual, though acute enough. What individuals he met, we cannot say. He mentions no names, though he occasionally refers in a general way to liberal-minded people of standing. At Thun he met a military officer whom he knew, and Herr Walther was his continual mentor. Once von Fellenberg rode past him on his horse. Cooper's contacts, therefore, seem chiefly to have been with his guides and the hotel-people he met with at the inns. Of the guides he is full of praise: their honesty, devotion, strength and often their sturdy independence. The inn-keepers did not always come up to his standard, though he describes one at Langenthal as his beau idéal of a yeoman. Occasionally the waiters were indifferent, careless or inclined to correct Cooper's French, but at Domodossola he thought back with yearning to the probity of the Swiss garçon. In the girls and women he naturally looked for beauty. Generally speaking, he found them finer than the French or German women, but less beautiful than the American female, though the latter's pronunciation of her

native tongue he thought execrable. He did not think the Swiss peasant women good-looking, though the children were often little angels. But for the Oberland girls he has a kind word, and the girls of the Rheintal he declared to be downright pretty, while the people of the Valais, he says, were in looks perhaps of a cast superior to that of the rest of the Swiss — in spite of the disgusting crétins he frequently saw there. In The Headsman he remarks upon the greater freedom of intercourse allowed girls of rank in Switzerland, which is a part of the general simplicity of Swiss life. Indeed, this is the key-note of his remarks on Swiss society. Invited to a tea at a country house near Vevey, he reports that "our entertainment was very much what it ought to be, simple, good, and without fuss;" and on leaving the country he speaks in retrospect of "Swiss simplicity (for there is still relatively a good deal of it), and Swiss directness in politeness, finesse and manner."

Perhaps the most disagreeable quality of the people Cooper met with in this country - really the only serious criticism - is the widely prevalent greed for money. That touched a sensitive nerve in Cooper's own nature. It is not merely the frugality of the mountaineer that he touches upon several times in The Headsman, and the reputation for selling his military service for pay — which Cooper discussed frankly with his Swiss friends but the begging of the common people along the tourist routes. He gives several unpleasant examples of little children being trained to it in the mountains, and sets it down to the hard life of the peasant and the demoralizing influence of large numbers of wealthy foreigners. His final verdict is: "I would as soon depend on a Swiss, a clear bargain having been made, as on any other man I know." On the other hand, though he has a passing remark on the comparative slowness of the Bernese mind, he has high praise for the healthy, athletic appearance and the loyalty of the Oberland mountaineer. He is charmed with the singing of the girls, though he did not understand a word of the songs, and what he saw of the religious life of the people impressed him favorably. He himself was an Episcopalian and no friend of either Rome or Calvin; but the simplicity of the Geneva service and the sincerity of Swiss Catholicism, both at Einsiedeln and elsewhere, won at least his respect. It was a welcome relief after what he saw in the Latin countries. With Swiss customs and habits he came little in contact. The Kirschwasser the guides constantly asked for became something of a joke, while the onion-pie - Zibelewaihe - that was offered him at an inn is very discreetly passed over. Once they were mistaken for a wedding party and stopped by a rope stretched across the road. Another time some decently-dressed young fellows asked them for money, at which Cooper was shocked, till he found out that they were wandering Handwerksburschen, Germans. He noticed that the Germans were not popular with the Swiss people, while there was considerable sympathy for the French, in spite of the recent conquest by Napoleon's troops. That was all the more strange to Cooper, since the predominantly Germanic character of the people and their language was something new to him; he mentions it again and again.

It shows clearly, what he himself soon found out, that Americans at that time knew as little about Switzerland as the Swiss did of America. And soon after settling at La Lorraine Cooper began a systematic study of Swiss history and political institutions from books he got at Berne. He fills a letter with the knowledge he acquired about Berne and on his long jaunt through the Eastern cantons he mentions the peculiar political character of each. In 1828, of course, there was little democracy in the modern, or even in his own, sense of the word. Berne was clearly an aristocracy; its republicanism was decidedly limited, though he concedes that the aristocrats of Berne - and indeed everywhere in Switzerland - used their power with comparative mildness. In The Headsman the aristocrat who acts up to his humanitarian and democratic principles is a Bernese, which is an indication of Cooper's subconscious sympathy for Bernese society. Other places, such as Schaffhausen and Zürich, are less aristocratic, more democratic; but Cooper is sceptical about them. In such places, he says, the aristocrats rule and the democrats think they rule. Places like St. Gall and Zürich — he did not visit Basel — were commercial centres and easily roused Cooper's anti-capitalist suspicions. Many pages are taken up with a discussion of American political problems from this point of view, and with the U.S. constantly in mind the really democratic cantons — the Urkantone - made little impression upon him: they were too small. Democracy on such a tiny scale, he says, and in a Catholic population, cannot serve as a model for the large political units of the outside world.

All this is not very flattering to a modern Swiss, perhaps. But it argues an understanding of the then situation of Switzerland that is rooted deeper than the usual cheap eulogy of Switzerland as "the cradle of liberty". At a time when all Europe was expecting with satisfaction the speedy dissolution of the American Union as a result of South Carolina's nullification act, the Swiss alone showed concern for the safety of the Union; and Cooper does not fail to comment on this favorably. He remarks, too, or the courtesy of the Swiss in discussing their political problems, adding however, "I never met a Swiss gentleman who appeared to undervalue his institutions". On the other hand he can say: "I do not believe the Swiss, at heart, are a bit more attached to their institutions than we are ourselves", and he reports that the liberal-minded among his Swiss friends acknowledged that a federal union on the model of the American government would be the best solution of many of their problems. That was twenty years before the new constitution was actually adopted! It is with considerable satisfaction, though laughingly, that he says the Swiss soldiers at Thun behaved exactly like the American militia at home - as like as two peas! And among the people he meets, it is the type of the American democrat that he is always looking out for - the strong, independent, self-reliant man. The inn-keeper at Langenthal was one such man; occasionally among his guides he met with others, and generally speaking he looked for them particularly among the mountaineers. Worldly success meant nothing to him in comparison, and the only time he actually waxes eloquent about the Swiss love of liberty is when describing the people of the Valais — poor and shiftless, but proud of their independence. This eulogy passed over into the novel, too. Pierre, the guide over the St. Bernhard Pass, is such a sturdy republican after Cooper's heart, a man who is not insensible to worldly rank, i.e. he knows his place, but who cherishes his liberty above everything else. "Spoken like a Swiss!" is the answer the Bernese baron

and Burger gives him. This, perhaps, though a creation of his imagination, is the essence of Cooper's conception of Switzerland. His democracy, as we have seen, was not a clear or a consistent one. It partook of the contending forces of the ideological antagonisms of his time. If in his book the negative note seems to be dominant, it is merely the descant to a steady bass note of deep sympathy. His ideal would have been a kind of combination of the two countries - American democracy and Swiss sense of social values. When at home he was disappointed with his own countrymen he naturally turned to the Swiss for a kind of comfort. In his bitter novel Home as Found the hero weighs Switzerland as an ideal place to live in with Italy, and many years later Cooper's daughter Susan, in her memoirs written for the novelist's grandchildren, wrote: "I doubt if many travellers enjoyed Switzerland more than your grandfather did." And though Italy with its warmer climate and far richer cultural heritage had a greater attraction, still Susan could say of Cooper in the end: "For Switzerland he had a great admiration."

Basel. H. Lüdeke.

Current Literature. 1940-1945

II. Criticism and Biography

Amongst general works in this section mention should first be made of The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, edited by F. W. Bateson (4 vols. C.U.P., 1940, £7-7-0), an encyclopaedic compilation which will stand beside the other Cambridge books, such as The Cambridge History of English Literature and The Cambridge Modern History as an indispensable work of reference for scholars and research workers. Conceived on an ambitious scale, and in its final stages carried through against wartime difficulties, it is the joint production of a large number of specialists, which in three large volumes covers the field of English letters from the year 600 to 1900; the fourth volume is entirely occupied by the index. It would be difficult to find many writers of any significance at all who are omitted; and it is one of its merits that the term "literature" has been taken in the broadest sense, to include letters, travel, oratory, sermons, important

theological and philosophical treatises, polemical writings etc. In the case of each author dealt with a full list of his works is given, all important editions are indicated, and where any doubt exists, or where any work has been attributed to a particular writer as the result of recent research, the fact is noted, usually with a reference to the book or article on the authority of which the attribution has been made. Then follows a list of biographical and critical materials, embodying all that appears to be most important up to the year 1935, and in a few cases later. The same general scheme has been followed in the case of "movements", "schools", "influences" or literary types. In a work covering so wide a field there are bound to be a few omissions and errors, and already a number of corrections and additions have appeared in the columns of the Times Literary Supplement. In due course, when a second edition is called for, it should be possible to embody these and perhaps incorporate the results of later research. Meanwhile the Bibliography as it stands is a monument of scholarship and erudition.

The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature, by George Sampson (C.U.P., 1941, 15/-) is much more than a condensed version of the earlier Cambridge History of English Literature. It is founded upon that but is actually a new work by a scholar who has, in his earlier writings, given ample testimony of his learning, his critical faculty and his close acquaintance with English letters over a wide field. Here, in one goodsized volume, we have, chronicled and assessed, the literature of over a thousand years. The original Cambridge History was completed in 1916, and even then it did not carry the story up to date, excluding on principle any mention of the works of writers who were still living; Mr. Sampson, besides going over the older and well-trodden ground, fills in the gap of almost half a century and brings the story up to the present day. His judgements are not always the orthodox ones, and when he disagrees with earlier critics he is frank enough to say so; but what he has to say he says without prejudice and after careful consideration. He has, moreover, a happy knack of getting much sound criticism into a few sentences, and while his style is studied and precise it is never ponderous; while his erudition and wide reading are in evidence on every page, his work never becomes pedantic or over academic. With the older Cambridge History one was always conscious of a certain disjointedness and sometimes a lack of proportion faults which are perhaps difficult to avoid in a work compiled by a number of writers each concentrating on his own particular section. In the present work, on the other hand, these shortcomings are absent, or at least, they are not noticeable. There will, no doubt, be a good deal of disagreement over what has been included and excluded, especially in the modern period, but take it all in all, the book is an excellent introduction and a reliable quide to its subject.

Another general work, though on a more modest scale, is The Literature of England, by J. Entwistle and Eric Gillett (Longmans, 1943, 7/6). Designed with an eye on the possible foreign reader, it pays considerable

attention to the foreign influences on English letters, especially in the modern period, and avoids the over-academic approach. These are its virtues; but on the other hand the authors do not find it possible to say much upon any individual writer, and are sometimes inclined to dismiss a poet or a novelist in one or two telling, almost epigrammatic, sentences. The book will probably be more helpful to the reader who has already a fair background of knowledge than to the beginner seeking for enlightenment. A better work is B. Ifor Evans' A Short History of English Literature (Penguin Books, 1940, 9d.), which in 215 pages gives a well balanced and illuminating survey of English literature from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day. Professor Evans combines the scholarship for which he is noted with an essentially human approach to his subject. He gets writers and movements in their right perspective and relationship and has something revealing and very much to the point to say about each one with whom he deals. About one-fifth of the book is devoted to pre-Elizabethan literature and the remaining four-fifths to the period beginning with Shakespeare and extending to the present day. A. C. Ward's Twentieth Century Literature 1901-1940 (Methuen, 1940, 7/6) is the seventh edition, considerably revised and enlarged, of an earlier work, while American Literature in Nineteenth Century England, by Clarence Gohdes (O.U.P., 1945, 16/6) deals, as its title suggests, with the popularity and influence of American writers, especially in the sphere of the short story and the mystery tale, during the reign of Queen Victoria and the few years preceding it. It is not an exhaustive study, but it does show that the knowledge of American literature on this side of the Atlantic was more extensive than is usually supposed.

In the field of poetry the outstanding work is A Critical History of English Poetry, by H. J. C. Grierson and J. C. Smith (Chatto & Windus, 1944, 21/—), in which ripe scholarship, wide reading, a catholic taste and an unerring critical faculty all combine to make a book of the first rank. The authors deal principally with the great figures of English poetry, though the lesser lights are not altogether neglected; and they sometimes emphasise an unusual aspect of a writer or bring to the surface a hitherto unnoticed characteristic. But let it not be supposed from this that they are constantly striving after novelty, effect or originality. Their standards are in the main orthodox ones; and, moreover, they have managed to bring out, behind the changes of tastes, types and styles, the unchanging element in the spirit of English poetry, a task attempted also by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple, in an English Association pamphlet The Genius of English Poetry (O.U.P., 1940, 2/—).

Edith Sitwell ranges freely over the field of English verse in her work A Poet's Notebook (Macmillan, 1943, 10/6), assessing, commenting, interpreting and revealing. As one would expect from such a writer, her judgements are not always orthodox, but they are none the worse for that. There is evidence in this book of erudition, wide reading and independence of taste and outlook; but one cannot help feeling that it reveals more of Miss Sitwell than of the poets with whom she deals. Perhaps, however, it

was meant to; the title, at least, suggests so. More objective and detached is F. L. Lucas' Ten Victorian Poets (C.U.P., 1940, 7/6), a reprint, with two additional chapters, of Eight Victorian Poets, published in 1930. The writers dealt with are Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Clough, D. G. Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne, Hardy and Coventry Patmore. Then there is also A Romantic View of Poetry, by Joseph Beach Warren (Johns Hopkins University Press and O.U.P., 1945, 12/—). Based on a course of lectures given in the Johns Hopkins University in 1941, it is a consideration of the great romantics from Wordsworth to Keats and Shelley. Here and there the style is more suited to oral than to literary presentation, but all are discerning studies which merit the consideration of any student

of the period or of the romantic movement in English poetry.

There appears, indeed, to be a revival of interest in romanticism which for some years before the war had been rather neglected and perhaps a little depreciated in favour of the eighteenth century and the Restoration. During the past five or six years there has been scarcely one of the great romantics who has not attracted the attention of the critic or biographer. There are, for instance, three works on Wordsworth which deserve attention. Wordsworth's Formative Years, by George Wilbur Meyer (University of Michigan Press, \$3.50, O.U.P., 21/6, 1944) is a detailed, thoughtful and learned work, dealing with the poet's life up to the year of publication of the Lyrical Ballads. Rejecting the evidence of The Prelude as being, in all probability, a later idealisation of his childhood and youth, Dr. Meyer claims to discern in the young Wordsworth an inner conflict that was never fully resolved, and which produced in him varying moods of optimism and despondency. The case is urged with cogency, but one sometimes feels that Dr. Meyer has an axe to grind or a thesis to sustain; that he has fixed upon his point of view to begin with and then proceeds to collect evidence to justify it. His work is, nevertheless, an important contribution to Wordsworth studies. Second in importance to it comes The Mind of a Poet. A Study of Wordsworth's Thought, with Particular Reference to 'The Prelude', by Raymond Dexter Havens (Johns Hopkins University Press and O.U.P., 1942, 30/-), a long and exhaustive treatise, a certain amount of which, however, is invalidated if Dr. Meyer's suggestion is accepted. And in the third place we have J. C. Smith's A Study of Wordsworth (Oliver & Boyd, 1944, 5'-), a more modest work but full of suggestive hints and illuminating observations. It is, on the wole, a sympathetic study. Perhaps the most important point the author makes is that in the past Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction has been emphasised out of all proportion to its real significance and so has tended to colour criticism of his work and to induce in the critic or the reader a bias in one direction or another.

Jack Simmons' Southey (Collins, 1945, 12/6) is concerned chiefly with the poet's life, not with his writings, and there is rather too much of heroworship in it for it to be a good biography. A similar criticism must be levelled against Shelley and the Romantic Revival by F. A. Lea (Routledge, 1945, 12/6). It is true that here Shelley's literary work, as well as his life,

gets its due share of attention, but the author is uncritically eulogistic where the poetry is concerned, while on the biographical side there is a good deal of inaccuracy. Nor is the style or the arrangement of the book all that

could be desired. It is a popular rather than a scholarly work.

Much more praiseworthy is Shelley, by Newman Ivey White (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1941, 2 vols.). The result of twenty-four years' study and research, it is a voluminous, almost formidable work, well annotated, fully documented and carefully planned and arranged. It is a scholar's work by a scholar, solid, accurate and precise down to the smallest detail. It makes heavy reading, and as fairly substantial sections of it are taken up with a survey of the political, social, religious and philosophical background of Shelley's arge, the reader sometimes feels that he is in danger of losing sight of the wood for the trees. But it is a work of vast scholarship and will be essential as a book of reference for future workers on Shelley and his circle.¹

Byron and Keats have also received their share of attention. Peter Quennell's Byron in Italy (Collins, 1941, 12/6), a well written book which is a work of literature in itself as well as a discerning piece of literary criticism, continues the story of the poet's life from the point where it was left in Byron, the Years of Fame (1935), while Byron's 'Don Juan', a Critical Study by Elizabeth French Boyd (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1945, \$ 3.50) examines the background, the motives, the method of composition and the philosophical basis of the poem in question, concluding with the suggestion that the author lost interest in it as he became more politically active. Something of the same ground is traversed by Paul G. Trueblood's The Flowering of Byron's Genius. Studies in 'Don Juan' (Stanford University Press and O.U.P., 1945, 15/6), while in Keats (Collins, 1941, 12/6) Betty Askwith writes a new and interesting study of the author of Endymion from a psychological angle, drawing very fully upon his correspondence as well as his poetry. The chief criticism that one might make of it is that voiced by the reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement: "it is too external; it hides the poet behind the man." An investigation into the same poet's reputation at the hands of the critics and in the eyes of his successors in the field of verse is conducted by George H. Ford in Keats and the Victorians. A Study of His Influence and Rise to Fame, 1821-1895 (Yale University Press and O.U.P. 1945, 20/-), where it is shown that in some respects the rising reputation of Keats in the half-century after his death paved the way for the Aesthetic school of writers. The work of Matthew Arnold is examined and assessed by Chauncy B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry in the The Poetry of Matthew Arnold, A Commentary (O.U.P.,

¹ Perhaps this is a convenient place to note also Shelley at Oxford. The Early Correspondence of P. B. Shelley with his friend T. J. Hogg, together with Letters of Mary Shelley and Thomas Love Peacock, and a hitherto unpublished fragment of Shelley, edited by Walter Sidney Scott (Golden Cockerel Press, 1945, £ 3-3-0) and The Letters of Mary W. Shelley, Collected and Edited by Frederick L. Jones (University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, 2 vols., \$12.00).

1941, 12/6), where Arnold is shown naturally and inevitably to have progressed from the poet to the prose writer. The authors consider that while he was by instinct a poet and possessed the poet's vision and spiritual experience, he lacked the literary accomplishment to convey that vision and experience to the reader. He himself, they feel, became increasingly conscious of this deficiency as the years went by, and so he forsook the verse medium for prose, where he felt more competent if less spiritually satisfied.

A writer whose significance has only come to be realised in recent years is Ernest Dowson, one of the last of the Aesthetic school of poets. Mark Longaker's Ernest Dowson (O.U.P., 1945, 24/-) is a voluminous and painstaking work which defends Dowson against his detractors and seeks to show him as one of the really important, if not one of the major, writers of both verse and prose towards the close of the last century; but it is long drawn-out and somewhat ponderous. The author becomes absorbed in his subject until he loses his sense of proportion. To get Dowson in the right perspective we must go to William Gaunt's The Aesthetic Adventure (Jonathan Cape, 1945, 10/6), where the entire school, on the artistic as well as on the literary side, is passed in review. This is one of the foremost works of the period, well balanced, carefully written, and characterised by sound judgement. It is not unsympathetic to the Aesthetics, for it seeks to understand them and appreciate their point of view, yet it comes to the conclusion that, looked at as a whole, the movement can only appear as a rather exotic adventure which ended in a dismal failure and left to English art and letters little of any permanent value.

A greater poet than Dowson, or for that matter than most of the Aesthetic school, was the Jesuit Father, Manley Hopkins. Gerard Manley Hopkins, Poet and Priest, by John Pick (O.U.P., 1942, 8/6) suffers from a Catholic bias, but is nevertheless a sound piece of criticism and competent biographical sketch, which brings out the essential unity of the poet, the priest and the Jesuit in Hopkins. Competent and understanding too is Gerard Manley Hopkins, 1844-1889, A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition, by W. H. Gardner (Secker & Warburg, 1944, 25/-). work is critical rather than biographical; it seeks to establish a kinship between Hopkins and Shakespeare on the one hand and the Metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century on the other, while there is in it a careful analysis of Hopkins' poetic style. The two books are complementary to each other. Similarly two books which have appeared on A. E. Housman should be read together. The first, A Buried Life, Personal Recollections of A. E. Housman, by Percy Withers (Jonathan Cape, 1940, 5/--) is an intimate portrait of the poet by one who was his friend for almost twenty years, and as such it is a study of the man and his character rather than his work, though Mr. Withers confesses that even a friendship of so long a standing could never succeed in discovering the real inner life of Housman, or in piercing completely through that apparent egotism and mild vanity of which even his closest acquaintances were conscious. This same vanity F. S. XXVII. 1946.

and egotism is emphasised again by Grant Richards in his Housman, 1897-1936 (O.U.P., 1941, 21/—), though in this work much more attention is devoted to the literary work. It is a sympathetic, well proportioned, understanding study, revealing its subject as a combination of scholar, poet, classicist, stoic and epicurean, and his poetry as the literary expression of

this diverse yet unified personality.

Amongst modern poets Yeats has attracted most attention. The Poetry of W. B. Yeats, by Louis MacNeice (O.U.P., 1941, 8/6) is a critical biography, and a good one. Especially useful will be found the discussion of Yeats' symbolism.2 The Poet Laureate's Some Memories of W. B. Yeats (Dublin, The Cuala Press, 1941, 12/6) is much more personal. It does not claim to be a systematic account of the poet's life, or a work of criticism, though both biographers and critics will find much of interest in it. More important than either of these works, however, is W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939, by Joseph Hone (Macmillan, 1943, 25/--), in the composition of which the author has had the assistance of members of the Yeats family. It is well written, though there is a good deal in it that may arouse controversy. Yeats, be it remembered, was a Senator as well as a poet and playwright, a would-be politician as well as a mystic, a nationalist as well as a cosmopolitan, and Mr. Hone finds the key to his character in a phrase of Lady Wellesley which he quotes with approval - "a frustrated man of action". The time is not yet ripe for a final assessment of Yeats' significance and achievement, but Mr. Hone's is a praiseworthy "interim report".

Other works on modern poetry have for the most part been of a general nature or have dealt with groups of writers rather than individuals, though an exception is Herbert Read, An Introduction to His Work by Various Hands, edited by Henry Treece (Faber & Faber, 1944, 10/-), which covers Read's artistic work as well as his literary compositions. Francis Scarfe, the author of Auden and After, The Liberation of Poetry, 1930-1941 (Routledge, 1942, 8/6) is a young man who writes a defence and appreciation of Auden and his school, together with a clever analysis of present trends in English verse; but like many young people he tends to be a little sweeping and dogmatic in some of his statements and more than a little intolerant of anything with which he cannot agree or which does not fit into his theory. In Poetry and the Modern World (C.U.P., 1941, 15/-) David Daiches sets out to explain and interpret the modern poets and their relation to contemporary society and world-forces; though he is quite a competent critic, however, he fails to synthesise the picture, with the result that his treatise is disconnected. The title of J. G. Southworth's Sowing the Spring, Studies in British Poets from Hopkins to MacNeice (Oxford, Blackwell, 1940, 8/6) might suggest a general history of English verse over the past eighty-odd years: actually only ten poets are dealt with, and all but one of these belong to the present, or very nearly present, day: viz. Gerard Manley Hopkins, W. B. Yeats, Laurence Binyon, D. H. Lawrence, T. S. Eliot, Hugh

See review, E. S., Febr. 1946. — Ed.

MacDiarmid, Cecil Day Lewis, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender and Louis MacNeice.³

Not a great deal has appeared upon the essayists and the lesser prose writers of the period. Born Under Saturn, a biography of Hazlitt by Catherine Macdonald Maclean (Collins, 1943, 21/-), though not breaking much new ground, does succeed in representing the old material in a lively and interesting form and in stressing Hazlitt's political writings and activities in the interests of what today would be called the "left", while in Jane Welsh Carlyle (Macmillan, 1940, 18/-) Townsend Scudder draws a picture of a woman of potential genius who sacrificed herself for a husband who did not always sufficiently appreciate that sacrifice: but lane does not appear to have minded — at least, she nursed no grievances. Again, there is not a great deal that is new; the chief merit of the book lies in its vivid portrait of its subject as an individual of undoubted talent and personality and not merely as the wife a a great man. Savage Landor by Malcolm Elwin (Macmillan, 1942, 18/-) is the result of many years' study and research. Perhaps that is why at times one feels that the author tends to overemphasise the importance of his subject, to fall into dogmatic utterances and to give less than their due to earlier biographers and critics of Landor. Nevertheless, these minor faults apart, the book makes a valuable contribution to nineteenth century literary studies, for it throws light on many dark places, while there is a discerning examination of the alleged classical element in Landor, as well as his relation to the moribund romantic school.

In the sphere of the novel attention has centred almost exclusively on the greater figures. Talking of Jane Austen, by Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Sterne (Cassell, 1943, 12/6) is not a work of scholarship but a professional discussion of a woman novelist by two other women novelists. It is interesting and entertaining, but rather superficial. Nor would everyone agree that Pride and Prejudice, the novel for which Jane Austen is best known, ranks lowest among her writings. James Clarkson Corson's A Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott, 1797-1940 (Oliver & Boyd, 1943, 32/-) is, on the other hand, a painstaking piece of work, listing all editions of Scott's works and all the chief critical and biographical material upon him; but it is clearly a book for the specialist and the research worker rather than for the general student or the ordinary reader. In Thackeray, A Critical Portrait, by John W. Dodds (O.U.P., 1942, 20/-) we have a concise and competently written book, but again it contains little, if anything, that is new, while the critical part follows more or less conventional lines; Michael Sadleir's Trollope, A Commentary (Constable, 1945, 10/-) is a new

³ Owing to the amount of material to be dealt with in a restricted space I have, in general, confined this survey to books and have excluded articles in periodicals. Attention should, however, be directed to suggestive centenary studies of two of the minor poets of the nineteenth century — Thomas Hood and R. H. Barham, author of the *Ingoldsby Legends* — which appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* on May 5, 1945 and June 16, 1945 respectively.

edition of a work published some few years ago and now re-issued in view of the present vogue for Trollope's novels, while Harriet Martineau, by John Cranstoun Nevill (Frederick Muller, 1943, 5/—) is a work of homage to one of the lesser novelists of the Victorian age, who, like her contemporary Mrs. Henry Wood, or like Mrs. Hemans in verse, was popular in her time but has been all but forgotten since. To the present day she is of interest not so much on account of her own merits, which were not outstanding, as because of the circle in which she moved, being, as she was, sister to the famous Unitarian theologian and scholar, James Martineau. In the nineteenth century there were a number of such writers, not inconspicuous amongst them Charlotte M. Yonge, a most prolific author who produced nearly a hundred novels and biographical works. A study of her and her contribution to English letters has been written by Georgina Battiscombe in Charlotte Mary Yonge. The Story of an Uneventful Life (Constable, 1943, 15/—).

What Mr. Nevill has done for Miss Martineau and Georgina Battiscombe for Miss Yonge, George Bullock does for a twentieth century "popular" novelist in Marie Corelli, Life and Death of a Best Seller (Constable, 1940, 12/—). By no stretch of imagination could Marie Corelli be called a writer of the first or even of the second rank, but she enjoyed a great vogue in her day, and the present book is useful in that it throws interesting sidelights upon popular literary tastes and fashions in the Edwardian age and the few years that followed it.

Dickens retains his popularity, though the extremist type of criticism, whether adulatory or the opposite, is less in evidence than it used to be. The Dickens World, by Humphrey House (O.U.P., 1941, 10/6) fills in the social background of the novels and urges the thesis that Dickens, contrary to the generally accepted view, was not in the vanguard of reform but rather was caught up in its current and "cashed in" on it in order to win popularity. By temperament he was, the writer maintains, backwardlooking rather than forward-looking, and would have been content to return to the "good old days" of the pre-industrial age, which he romanticised much as David Copperfield romanticised his boyhood as he surveyed it in retrospect. A more generous view is given in Miss M. Lamberton Becker's Introducing Dickens (Harrap, 1941, 10/6), which dwells more upon the novelist's life and character than upon his works, while a middle course is steered by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy in Charles Dickens, 1812-1870 (Chatto & Windus, 1945, 21/-). There are many criticisms which could be levelled against this book; much space, for instance, is devoted to summarising the plots of the novels; the amount of original criticism is small compared with the citation of and comment on the criticism of others. while some of the observations — such as the assertion that Dickens' social criticism was only superficial and did not attack the fabric of society are commonplace. But despite this it is worth reading. Perhaps its chief value lies in certain suggestions which the author throws out here and there for the inquiring reader to follow up. They have, however, to be unearthed from beneath a good deal of commonplace matter.

Hardy, Chesterton and Kipling have all received a good share of attention. Carl J. Weber's Hardy of Wessex (O.U.P., 1941, 20/-) is apt to strike one as a dull book which never quite succeeds in bringing its subject to life. but it is a careful and painstaking study, full of fact and rich in biographical material, hence a necessary companion to a study of the Wessex novels or their author. Where Mr. Weber fails Edmund Blunden is eminently successful. His Thomas Hardy (Macmillan, English Men of Letters Series. 1942, 7/6) is written with a sympathy and insight rare amongst biographers and critics. Blunden's tastes and interests, like Hardy's own are rural and spring from a close acquaintance with the countryside and folk of southern England, and this gives him a decided advantage. While insisting upon the influence of Hardy's architectural training upon the formation of his prose style, he declares that by temperament he was primarily a poet, and one who accepted Matthew Arnold's view of the poet's function; hence his novels became a criticism of life. Altogether this is an excellent book, which deserves careful study. But after all, one would expect that of a volume in the English Men of Letters Series. Equally commendable is Lord David Cecil's Hardy the Novelist, an Essay in Criticism (Constable, 1943, 7/6). Anyone familiar with Early Victorian Novelists or The Stricken Deer (a biographical study of William Cowper) will feel sure of getting from Lord David Cecil something that is at once discerning in character and gracious in style and treatment; and he will not find his confidence misplaced. Again the essentially poetic cast of Hardy's mind and personality is emphasised; and the author steers clear of the trap into which so many people have fallen — that of confusing moral, religious and social issues with literary ones. Hardy is judged on his own ground and by his own standard, and he comes out of the trial well.

On G. K. Chesterton there is nothing so outstanding. The Place of G. K. Chesterton in English Letters, by Hilaire Belloc (Sheed & Ward, 1945, 3/6) is most disappointing. It fails to fulfil the promise of the title, is somewhat heavy in style and quite out of harmony with the spirit of Chesterton's own writings. F. A. Lea's The Wild Knight of Battersea (James Clarke & Co., 1940, 4/6) is a little better, but it is unsystematic and scrappy. Superior to either of these, though still not wholly satisfactory, is Maisie Ward's Gilbert Keith Chesterton (Sheed & Ward, 1944, 21/-), a sympathetic study the main theme of which is Chesterton's spiritual pilgrimage towards and within the Roman Catholic church. In literature Miss Ward sees Chesterton as the champion of the average man and the orthodox against the crank, the fanatic and the extremist. Whether this is in itself a virtue some might be inclined to question. Miss Ward assumes that it is, and commends Chesterton for it accordingly. Kipling has found two very able defenders in Edward Shanks and Hilton Brown. The former's Rudyard Kipling, A Study in Literature and Political Ideas (Macmillan, 1940, 7/6), a thoughtful and scholarly piece of work, is a well-reasoned defence of Kipling against his detractors, while the latter's Rudyard Kipling (Hamish Hamilton, 1945, 10/6) contends, with some justification, that Kipling has suffered in the estimation of his readers and critics partly because literary judgements have been confused with political ones, and partly on account of a few ill-chosen anthology pieces which are really not typical of his work. Mr. Brown, however, is no idolater. He is aware of the limitations, the shortcomings and the imperfect sympathies of the author of Kim and the Barrack Room Ballads, though he takes the view that for literary craftsmanship he holds a very high place amongst recent novelists. The chief difficulty about the book is that it assumes on the part of the reader the same detailed and minute acquaintance with Kipling's works that the author himself possesses, and it is doubtful whether many can lay claim to that qualification.

M. C. Bradbrook's study of Joseph Conrad, entitled Joseph Conrad, Poland's English Genius (C.U.P., 1941, 3/6) is an interesting piece of literary criticism with a bias towards the psychological approach, but it displays a tendency to over-emphasise, even to the point of exaggeration, the Polish element in Conrad's work and art. In fact, one feels that it was written primarily not as a tribute to Conrad but to a nation who was Britain's ally in the war, and this impression is borne out by the title. Conan Doyle, His Life and Art, by Hesketh Pearson (Methuen, 1943, 12/6) avoids the fault, so common among historians and critics of the modern novel, of regarding Conan Doyle solely as the creator of Sherlock Holmes and devotes a good deal of space to a consideration of his historical works such as The White Company and his story of the Boer War, while in-E. M. Forster (Hogarth Press, 1944, 8/6) Lionel Trilling presents Forster as a crusader against the aristocratic tradition and that kind of intellectualism which resulted in "the developed mind but undeveloped heart". He is not altogether convincing, for one feels that he decided on his point of view first and then looked for evidence to support it. Forster's own publication Virginia Woolf (C.U.P., 1942, 1/6), however, small as it is, is a model of writing. A life-long friendschip has enabled the author to illuminate his subject and her work as no "outside" critic could have done. Side by side with this should be read two other works: Joan Bennet's Virginia Woolf, Her Art as a Novelist (C.U.P., 1945, 6/-) and David Daiches' Virginia Woolf (Nicholson & Watson, 1945, 7/6). Both are capable interpretations and commentaries, though perhaps they will be read with more interest by devotees of Virginia Woolf than by the uninitiated who are looking for guidance through her works.

Two books have also appeared on James Joyce. The first, James Joyce, by Herbert Gorman (John Lane, 1941, 15/—) is too uncritically eulogistic to rank high as a serious contribution to its subject; the second, James Joyce, A Critical Introduction by Harry Leven (Faber & Faber, 1944, 8/6) sets out to explain the works of Joyce for the benefit of the reader who finds them puzzling (probably ninety-nine out of every hundred) though how far the aim is achieved is open to doubt. The present writer can only feel that it is a case of the blind leading the blind, and when that happens there is a danger that both may fall into the pit,

So much for works on individual novelists. One or two books of a more general character should also be noticed. Murder for Pleasure, The Life and Times of the Detective Story, by Howard Haycroft (Peter Davies, 1945, 10/6) is a study of the art and craft of one of the most popular types of modern novel; in The English Regional Novel (Allen & Unwin, 1942, 2/—) Phyllis Bentley traces this type back to Charlotte Brontë's Shirley and touches on the contribution of Mrs. Gaskell, Trollope, George Eliot, Hardy, Arnold Bennett, Francis Brett Young, Winifred Holtby and J. B. Priestley; Elizabeth Monroe's The Novel and Society. A Critical Study of the Modern Novel (University of North Carolina Press and O.U.P., 1943, 18/6) deals with the earlier as well as the contemporary novel and reaches no very definite conclusions; and David Daiches' The Novel and the Modern World (C.U.P., 1940, 15/—) is learned and thorough, though a series of detached studies rather than a continuous, planned treatise. Originally designed as a course of lectures, it deals with Galsworthy, Conrad, Katherine Mansfield, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Aldous Huxley. When lectures are published in book form they usually require a little judicious editing; in the present case this seems to have been omitted.

Drama and the theatre have little to show in comparison with the novel and poetry. Oscar Wilde, A Summing Up, by Lord Alfred Douglas (Duckworth. 1945, 6/—) is a biographical and critical work and at the same time a defence of Wilde's character, though not a condonation of his vices. Denis Mackail has written an "authorised" biography of Barrie, at the request of his executors, under the title The Story of J. M. Barrie (Peter Davies, 1941, 11/6). It is very full, but gives a rather surprising picture of the man who created Peter Pan, for it shows him as a person hankering after fame, literary reputation, riches and social position. Was this actually the real Barrie? It is difficult to think so. James Agate continues the story of his life and reminiscences up to December 1944 in four more instalments of the Ego books (Ego 4, 5, 6, 7, Harrap, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1945, Price 18/—, 18/—, 18/— and 15/— respectively), while in The Birmingham Repertory Theatre. The Playhouse and the Man (Birmingham, Cornish Brothers, 1943, 12/6) Thomas C. Kemp writes the story of a historic theatre which has played a prominent part in the renaissance of English drama in the twentieth century and is associated with the names of some of the most able of recent and present-day playwrights. Sir Barrie Jackson contributes a foreword.

The outstanding autobiography of the period is undoubtedly Sir Osbert Sitwell's Left Hand, Right Hand (Macmillan, 1945, 15/—), the first volume of his life-story, covering the period of his childhood at the family home at Renishaw, near Sheffield. As one would expect of a book by Sir Osbert, it is distinguished by gracefulness of style, picturesqueness, wit and gentle humour. If the succeeding volumes are as attractively written as the present one they may well come to rank as the high water mark of Sir Osbert's literary achievement. Notable also are the second and third volumes of Sean O'Casey's autobiography, Pictures in the Hallway and

Drums under the Windows (Macmillan, 1942 and 1945, 15/- each volume). Together they take us up to the revolutionary days of the first World War. and in the latter of them a number of notable political and literary figures make their appearance. The first volume was published in 1939 as I Knock at the Door (Macmillan, 10/6). Another of the Irish literary school, Lennox Robinson, has recounted his life in Curtain Up (Michael Joseph, 1942, 10/6). From the purely literary point of view this cannot be described as a well written book, for it is discursive and rather disproportionate. There is abundance of anecdote, and there is almost as much in it about other people, such as W. B. Yeats, and about the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, as about Lennox Robinson; but it makes interesting reading and throws much light upon the Irish literary renaissance. Memories and Opinions, An Unfinished Autobiography (C.U.P., 1944, 6/-) was started by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch shortly before his death, but only five chapters, covering his childhood and youth, were complete. It has now been edited by S. C. Roberts, who supplies an introduction upon Q and his writings. Then also John Masefield has told of his own younger days in the pages of In the Mill (Heinemann, 1941, 7/6), while A. L. Rowse records his memories of his infancy and schooldays in the West Country in A Cornish Childhood (Ionathan Cape. 1942, 12/6). Ernest Rhys, the general editor of the Everyman Library has also written his autobiography under the little Wales England Wed (Dent, 1940, 15/-), while Havelock Ellis sets down an account of his own life, experiences and opinions in My Life (Heinemann, 1940, 15/—). One must confess that as a piece of autobiographical writing it leaves much to be desired. It seems to have been composed piecemeal over a number of years, with the result that it is rambling, disproportionate, lacking in unity and in a sense of perspective and characterised by frequent digressions. Trivialities loom large, so that the personality of the author is obscured and at the end of it all one is left with no very clear impression. Those Days, by E. C. Bentley (Constable, 1940, 12/-) is not, strictly speaking, an autobiography but a volume of recollections from a full and active life, which presents a vivid picture of the political, social and intellectual atmosphere of England in the years prior to 1914. Bentley, though best known as the author of Trent's Last Case, passed the biggest part of his life as a journalist and in this capacity he met such well known persons as John Buchan, G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and A. G. Gardiner, on all of whom he has much of interest to say. Worth reading also is L. P. Jacks' Confessions of an Octogenarian (Allen & Unwin, 1942, 15/-). Dr. Jacks, editor of the Hibbert Journal (the leading British review of philosophy, religion and theology) is a former Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, and son-in-law of Stopford Brooke, of whom in his earlier years he wrote a memoir. His Confessions is concerned mainly with his life and experiences in the Unitarian ministry and later at Oxford, together with reflections upon them; but there are also some interesting sidelights upon literary personalities with whom, in his long and varied career, the author has come into contact.

One or two new editions of letters, diaries etc. call for mention. The letters of Shelley and of Mary Shelley have been noticed already (p. 48 n.). There is also the second volume of The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, edited by J. G. Tait (Oliver & Boyd, 1941, 5/—), covering the years 1827-1828. The first volume appeared in 1939 and another is to follow. Viola Meynell has edited The Letters of J. M. Barrie (Peter Davies, 1942, 15/—), while The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt (Faber & Faber, 1942, 21/—) has been edited by Sir Henry's wife, Margaret Newbolt, and The Letters of Llewelyn Powys (John Lane, 1945, 21/—) by Louis Wilkinson,

Alyse Gregory contributing a foreword. Finally there are a few miscellaneous publications which would not fall conveniently within any of the categories into which this survey has been divided. A Bookseller Looks Back, by James S. Bain, with a foreword by Sir Hugh Walpole (Macmillan, 1940, 15/—) is the professional reminiscences of one of London's best known booksellers, extending over the past fifty years; and The House of Macmillan, 1843-1943, by Charles Morgan (Macmillan, 1943, 8/6) gives an historical account of a great publishing house, issued to mark the occasion of its centenary. Geoffrey Tillotson's Essays in Criticism and Research (C.U.P., 1942, 15/-) is a collection of papers on literary subjects, most of which had previously appeared in reviews, periodicals or the transactions of learned societies. The same is true of W. MacNeile Dixon's An Apology for the Arts (Arnold, 1944, 7/6) and Essays and Addresses by Sir Herbert Grierson (Chatto & Windus, 1940, 10/6). The outstanding papers in this last-mentioned work are those on Scott, Byron, Carlyle and Shelley. Carlyle, as well as Coleridge, finds a place again in Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, by Charles R. Sanders (Duke University Press, 1943, \$3.50), though the book as a whole is concerned with religious and ethical rather than with literary subjects, the outstanding figures being Dr. Arnold of Rugby (father of Matthew Arnold) and Frederick Denison Maurice, the Christian Socialist friend of Charles Kingsley and John Ruskin. A volume of Cambridge Lectures by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has been added to the Everyman Library (1943, 3/—), and Massingham's *The Great Victorians* in two volumes, has been issued in the Penguin Books, as have also Virginia Woolf's The Common Reader and A Room of One's Own (9d. each volume). The annual volumes of Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association have continued to appear (O.U.P., 7/6 each), the last being that for 1944, published in 1945, while The Year's Work in English Studies, necessarily difficult of compilation in these days, has reached the volume for the year 1942 (O.U.P., 1945). A treatise on Italian Nationalism in English Letters, by Henry W. Rudman (Allen & Unwin, 1940, 18/--) deals with the influence on English literature and writers of the nineteenth century of the Italian struggle for freedom and unity; the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania, Professor E. Morris Miller, writes a very full account of Australian Literature from Its Beginnings to 1935 (O.U.P., 2 vols., 1942, 42/—), while under the title Above All Liberties (Allen & Unwin, 1942, 7/6) Alec Graig conducts a discussion of the thorny question

of literary censorship.

Owing to limitations of space mention of articles in periodicals has for the most part been excluded from this survey, but attention should be directed to one by Sir Osbert Sitwell on "Vulgarity in Literature" in the *Times Literary Supplement* of September 11, 1943. Sir Osbert has also written a pamphlet A Letter to My Son (Home & Van Thal, 1944, 3/6) in which he makes a plea for the recognition of the unique and privileged place of the writer in society, especially in matters of compulsory national service. It was much discussed at the time of its publication and James Agate wrote a reply to it, Noblesse Oblige. Another Letter to Another Son (Home & Van Thal, 1944, 3/6).

The following well known scholars have died during the period under review: R. B. McKerrow, first editor of The Review of English Studies and editor of The Works of Thomas Nashe (Jan. 20, 1940); E. F. Benson, (Febr. 29, 1940); Richmond Noble, author of the well known work on the songs in Shakespeare's plays (April, 1940); J. M. Manly, Chaucerian scholar (April 2, 1940); W. J. Lawrence, writer on the Elizabethan drama and theatre (August 9, 1940); G. C. Moore-Smith, Professor Emeritus of English literature in Sheffield University (Nov. 7, 1940); E. A. Baker, historian of the English novel (Jan. 19, 1941); Max Plowman, interpreter of William Blake (June 3, 1941); G. L. Kittredge, mediaevalist and Shakespearean scholar (September, 1941); George S. Gordon, Professor of Poetry at Oxford (March 13, 1942); R. W. Chambers, Anglo-Saxon scholar and authority on Sir Thomas More (April 21, 1942); Morley Roberts, novelist, traveller and critic (June 8, 1942); Sir Allen Mawer, Provost of University College, London (July 22, 1942); Caroline Spurgeon. author of Shakespeare's Imagery (October 24, 1942); Ernest de Sélincourt, formerly Professor of English Literature in Birmingham University, Professor of Poetry at Oxford and Wordsworthian scholar (May 22, 1943); W. L. Phelps, chronicler of the origins of romanticism in English literature (Aug. 21, 1943); P. P. Howe, author of the standard life of Hazlitt (March 21, 1944); A. W. Pollard, editor of Chaucer and of English miracle and mystery plays (April 8, 1944); Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (May 12, 1944); Bernard Newdigate, editor of Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton (May 24, 1944); John Palmer, dramatic critic, writer on the theatre and author of a work on Shakespeare's political characters (August 5, 1944); Henry Cecil Wyld, Merton Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Oxford, and author of numerous works on the history of the English language (Jan. 26, 1945); Charles Williams, editor of the poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins (May 15, 1945); Oliver Elton, Professor Emeritus of English Literature in the University of Liverpool (June 4, 1945).

Sheffield.

Review

Studies on the Genitive of Groups in English. By EILERT EKWALL. (K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse 1942-1943, I.) 104 pp. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag. 1943.

The genitive of groups in English (e.g. King Alfred's son, the Prince of Wales's birthday) has received a good deal of attention from scholars, the latest discussion being that by Jespersen in MEG VI, pp. 281-298. In Old English, two or more substantives in apposition had the genitive ending affixed to each word (Ælfredes cyninges godsunu), while very often the members of the group were separated by the governing word (Ælfredes sweostor cyninges.) The latter construction is called by Ekwall the "split genitive", the former being denoted as the "group genitive". In late Old English the second of the words in apposition, when placed after the governing word, began to drop its genitive ending, and in Middle English it was usually put in the common case. If the words in apposition were placed before the governing word, the second word as a rule got the genitive ending in ME, where the general trend was for the split genitive to be superseded by the group genitive.

So much was matter of common knowledge. In collections of ME examples of the genitive of groups one type of combination, however, is hardly represented, viz. double names, and it is these that Ekwall has taken up for special investigation. By "double names" he understands full names consisting of a Christian name and a surname (family name), such as Geoffrey Chaucer, Robert Manning, William Langland. Such names have been in use in England from a fairly early time; yet they rarely occur together in the genitive in ordinary ME literature. The explanation of this is, no doubt, that people often continued to be called in daily use by the Christian name only, while sometimes the second name alone was so used. An unexpected source of material for the study of the genitive of double names was discovered by Ekwall in a number of official documents written in Latin, in which English expressions, especially designations of persons, are sometimes used instead of their Latin equivalents. Chief among these documents are the Patent Rolls of the reign of Edward II and the earlier part of the reign of Edward III, i.e. of the first half of the fourteenth century. It appears that English split genitives are mainly found in Commissions of over and determiner, that is, in commissions to judges and others to hear and determine indictments on specified offences, such as treasons, felonies etc. In these commissions the persons indicted are often fully enumerated. Frequently servants and other dependents of persons are mentioned, and they are often described as servant (or son, relative etc.) of so and so, as William Williamesman the Wright "William, servant of William (the) Wright", i.e. (the) Carpenter, Payn Thomasservant Raye

"Payn, servant of Thomas Raye", John Nicholes clerk Pecche "John, clerk of Nicholas Pecche", Thomas Gilberdescosyn Day of Tetford "Thomas, cousin of Gilbert Day of Tetford", etc. The indictments on which the commissions were founded must have been drawn up by local lawyers, so that we may assume that the split genitives represent local usage and every-day speech. The reason why examples become less frequent in the later Rolls is not only that the construction was gradually falling into disuse but also that after the middle of the century Commissions of oyer and determiner became much fewer than before, owing to the institution of Commissions (or Justices) of the Peace, whose activities are not reflected in these documents.

A classified selection from the material collected by Ekwall from the Patent Rolls and similar sources occupies the greater part of his treatise. The arrangement is according to various types of surnames, and besides illustrating the uses of the genitive, the quotations and notes throw light on methods of medieval nomenclature, on the identity of places and persons, and other points of interest. In striking contrast to the profusion of split genitives are a mere trio of group genitives from Latin documents, such as John Williambakemanservant "John, servant of William Bakeman". In a number of English texts examined, on the other hand, group genitives of double names were found far more often than split genitives, though not many belong to the fourteenth century.

In a Discussion and Summary Ekwall explains the frequency of the "split genitive" construction from the appositional character of the byname or surname, which, as a means of distinguishing one Thomas or William from another, would often be added by a speaker as an afterthought. He then discusses the question whether the surnames found in the ME material can be looked upon as surnames in the proper sense, i.e. family names. The answer is affirmative: hereditary surnames were fully developed among the upper classes, both Norman and English, by the beginning of the thirteenth century or earlier, and by the bourgeoisie of London and other cities at least in the latter half of that century.

The material shows that the split genitive of double names was used in all parts of England. The latest example in Latin documents dates from 1456, in English sources from 1405. This chronological difference is ascribed to the notorious conservatism of legal language, which went on using the construction after it had become unusual in ordinary speech. The group genitive never took root in legal Latin; in English texts it is infrequent before 1400. During the second half of the fourteenth century the two constructions apper to have existed side by side.

The author adds remarks on split genitives of groups other than double names found in his Latin and English material, such as le Priurserjaunt of Ely "the servant of the prior of Ely", Kyng Philippis sone of Fraunce, etc; on the use of the group genitive in such combinations (Davibb Kinges burrh c 1200 Orm 7262), which, as his material shows, came into use somewhat earlier than had been recognized hitherto; on the form of the genitive (in

-es, -s, without an ending, or replaced by his); on the English vocabulary of the split genitives and group genitives; on baptismal names in the material; and on local surnames. An alphabetical Index of the names and other words discussed concludes the treatise, which is of extraordinary interest, not only from a philological, but also from a historical point of view.

On p. 9 it is pointed out that the genitives of groups in Old English, inclusive of the split genitive, continue an Old Germanic tradition and have their counterparts in other Germanic languages. Specimens are given of the split genitive in Old High German and Old Scandinavian, with references to earlier treatments of the subject. Examples from Middle Dutch (des hertogen broeder / Godeverts, 1 Godeverts broeder des hertoghen, 1 des Conincks Dochter van Engelant) may be found in G. A. van Es, De Attributieve Genitief in het Middel-Nederlandsch (Groningen diss., 1938), pp. 370, 371, 416, 417. There are no "split genitives" of double names among them, any more than among the quotations in Stoett's Middelnederlandse Spraakkunst, Syntaxis (3rd ed., 1923), § 163, unless Gozelsens dochter van Ardenne, Gherids maghet van Rysen be regarded as such. More examples of this type 2 (with van + place-name in apposition) may be found in non-literary sources: Willems leen van Oestghest, in Didderics gherechte van Hodenpijl (Feudal Register of Floris V, 1281/82, edited by S. Muller Hz. in Bijdr. en Meded. Hist. Genootschap, dl. 22, 1902, p. 90 ff.); it will be noted that the headwords in these groups do not denote persons.3 Surnames consisting of a place-name preceded by a preposition (Richard Steveneknave of Echeles) are represented by nearly a hundred examples of split genitives in Ekwall's material. They sometimes denote a person as resident at the place in question, but in many cases they had already become family names. In examples of group genitives of such names from English texts, the preposition is usually absent: Sir Thomas Todenhamus man (1451 Paston Letters xxvii), with which compare Sander Henric Helmonts knecht (J. C. Westermann, De Rekeningen van de Landsheerlijke Riviertollen in Gelderland, 1394/95 [1939], 10).

As Ekwall observes, the split genitive was common all through the Middle English period, and is occasionally met with even later. The later examples collected by Jespersen in Progress in Language, § 222, and again in MEG VI. 17.12, all have the word(s) in apposition separated from the headword by a clear break (I am not yet of Percies mind, the Hotspurre of the North). Two examples without such a break occur in A Mirror for Magistrates (1559), ed. Campbell (1938): I am that lames king Roberts sonne the Skot (p. 155, l. 5), and Yet at the last in Henryes dayes the sixt (p. 185, l. 64); while some twenty years earlier, Surrey, perhaps in reminiscence of Chaucer,

<sup>With both members in the genitive, as in OE and still as a rule in Layamon.
Kindly supplied by Dr. J. R. Niermeyer, then Reader in Mediaeval History in the</sup>

University of Groningen, now Professor of Medieval History in the University of Amsterdam.

³ Ekwall has some examples of such groups in his English material: Seynt Thomas deb of Kaunterbery, For William soule Cresewyk.

had written of Priams sonnes of Troy. In The Taming of the Shrew we find: Am not I Christopher Sly, old Sly's son of Burton-heath (Ind. ii. 18), where Dowden's Oxford text wrongly has a comma after son, though the phrase is quoted correctly in his Introduction; and: Ay, the woman's maid of the house (ib., 90). It is noteworthy that both are put into the mouth of Sly, the tinker. To much the same social class belongs the speaker of the following quotation from A Comedy of Errors, IV. iii. 17: he that goes in the calf's skin that was killed for the Prodigal. By Shakespeare's time, the construction had evidently become sub-standard.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Brief Mention

English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660. By Douglas Bush. vi + 621. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1945. 21s. net.

This work is Volume Five of the Oxford History of English Literature, which is to be completed in 12 volumes. Professor Bush has arranged his material in an unusual manner. He introduces his subject with a chapter on the background of the age; then discusses popular literature and translations; the successors of Spenser; song books and miscellanies Jonson, Donne and their successors. He then surveys the literature of travel; essays and characters; history and biography; political thought; science and scientific thought; religior and religious thought. There is a short account of heroic verse, and a longer study o Milton's life, thought and writings. After the conclusion come chronological tables which give contemporary public events, literary history, publications in verse and prose, and productions of plays. The bibliography, which occupies 182 of the 621 pages of the book, has six sections; that dealing with individual authors is naturally the largest.

It is hoped that longer notices of this volume and Volume II, Part 2 (English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages. By Sir Edmund Chambers) will appear in English Studies at a later date when review copies are available. — J.

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'Gyres' in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats

The word 'gyre' is used by writers, especially poets, to describe any whirling, spiral or circular motion. Its appearance in Spenser, Jonson, Fletcher, Drayton, Mrs Browning and Rossetti as a noun, and in Southey, Drayton, Fletcher, Barlow, Meredith, Hall and Carroll as a verb, need not cause the reader any difficulty. It is an unusual word, but its meaning is clear, and it obviously corresponds to the commonplace 'gyration'.

In Yeats's poetry the word first 1 appears in Michael Robartes and the Dancer. Since we find it there in two poems 2 which are based on the thought of A Vision we need not hesitate to explore that work in order to discover what Yeats meant by the word. He gives his sources for it in a

section headed The Gyre:

Flaubert talked much of writing a story called 'La Spirale' and died before he began it, but since his death an editor has collected the scheme from various sources. It would have concerned a man whose dreams during sleep grew in magnificence as his life became more and more unlucky. He dreamt of marriage with a princess when all went wrong with his own love adventure. Swedenborg wrote occasionally of gyrations, especially in his 'Spiritual Diary', and in 'The Principia' where the physical universe is described as built up by the spiral movement of points, and by vortices which were combinations of these; but very obscurely except where describing the physical universe; perhaps because he was compelled as he thought to keep silent on all that concerned Fate. I remember that certain Irish country men whom I questioned some twenty years ago had seen Spirits departing in an ascending gyre; and there is that gyring 'tangle of world lines in a fourth dimensional space' of later discoverers, and of course, Descartes and his Vortex, Boehme and his gyre, and perhaps, were I learned enough to discover it, allusions to many writers back to antiquity. Arrived there I am attracted to a passage in Heraclitus which I can, I think, explain more clearly than his English commentators.³

He discusses Blake's use of the Gyres in Section III of A Vision:

Blake, in the 'Mental Traveller', describes a struggle, a struggle perpetually repeated, between a man and a woman, and as the one ages, the other grows young. A child is given to an old woman, and ...

She lives upon his shrieks and cries And she grows young as he grows old Till he becomes a bleeding youth And she becomes a virgin bright Then he rends up his manacles And bends her down to his delight.

W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, 'The Demon and the Beast' (p. 209) and 'The Second

Coming' (p. 210).

W. B. Yeats, A Vision, p. 128 seq.

¹ The use of the word in 'The Two Trees' which appears in Collected Poems, p. 54, may mislead the reader who has not seen that this poem did not contain the word when published in The Rose of 1893, nor in The Poems (Benn Edition) of 1927.

Then he in turn becomes 'an aged shadow' and is driven from his door, where 'From the fire on the hearth a little female babe doth spring'. He must wander 'until he can a maiden win' and then all is repeated for

... The wild game of her roving eye Does him to infancy beguile ... Till he becomes a wayward babe And she a weeping woman old ...

The woman and the man are two competing gyres growing at one another's expense.

Yeats did not owe much to the Swedenborgian gyres which are described in the Diarium Maius,⁴ and, more explicitly, in the Principia:

For since they (particles) are not only most highly prone but also most highly suited to a common or vortical motion; since the figure of each particle respectively conspires to this and to no other motion, as will subsequently be shown; it follows that merely in virtue of the origin of their motion, whatever that origin may be, they tend to no other than a vortical motion; just as the least sound, the least commencement of motion in the air, puts a volume of its parts into a motion undulating from the centre to the circumference and on every side circularly; as we see also in water and in every element whose phenomena come within the cognizance of the senses. This tendency is more particularly observable in the present case; in which one particle, as it were, assists another into the performance of the same gyre with its own; a gyre into which in consequence of their elasticity all must readily and similarly flow; so that upon the slightest origination of motion they flow spontaneously into a vortex.⁵

The conclusions of the earlier parts of the *Principia* are summed up in the second volume as follows:

In our first and second parts we have abundantly shown that the first and second elementaries can move only in a spiral and vortical direction; that they cannot for instance be put into any other motion than such as accords with their mechanism and figure; that they are then in their veriest and most natural situation when they assume a vortical arrangement; that they so dispose themselves as to adapt even their very figure to their distance and motion; or that when compressed they tend to a more rapid gyration than when dilated, more rapid at a smaller distance from the sun than at a longer; that they cannot be quiescent unless there be no centre around which they can gyrate: that the perpetual active vivifies, renews, and as it were preserves the perennial action of the particles of the element; not to mention other particulars which we have above mentioned.⁶

Gyres as forming part of the spiritual progress of the soul are described in the Diarium Maius:

There are gyres into which the newly arrived spirits are obliged to be inaugurated to the extent that they may be initiated into fellowship with others, so as both to speak and think together with them.

⁴ Vide E. Swedenborg, *Diarium Spirituale* (Newbury, London 1845), § 2920 (Entry for August 24th, 1748).

⁵ E. Swedenborg, *The Principia* (Newbury, London, 1845), § 38, p. 160. Cf. also § 39, p. 162.

E. Swedenborg, op. cit., Ch. VI, p. 345.

⁷ E. Swedenborg, Diarium Spirituale, § 1015. Cf. § 1015½, 1016, 1017, 2921.

This idea is also dealt with in Arcana Coelestia⁸, and these gyres are quite unlike the Yeatsian:

It has been given to apperceive the gyres of those who belong to the province of the liver ... The gyres were gentle, flowing about according to the operation of that entrail ... and affected me with much delight; their operation is diverse but it is commonly orbicular.9

in that one gyre permits of access to another, and there is no implication of any inevitable contrariety of gyres.

These quotations from Swedenborg have been made to demonstrate that Yeats did not owe much to Swedenborgian sources, for these concepts are concerned either with the physical basis of matter, in which Yeats was not profoundly interested, or with a view of the soul's evolution different to that which Yeats imagined, as will be shown when Yeats's own descriptions of gyres are dealt with later.

The theory of Descartes with regard to vortices has been summed up by Mahaffy:

There are produced an innumerable series of vortices of matter of various volume and various regularity of form, in which are carried along the grosser bodies situated in them. Our solar system is such a vortex and the earth though in one sense moving along with the matter of its vortex, in another is at rest, as the passenger is at rest in a moving ship. The easier and quicker motion of the subtler matter in each vortex causes the grosser to deflect towards the centre, and this is the principle by which he explains weight and gravity — a hypothesis regarded with admiration by his followers. Solidity he explains as nothing but an absence of motion in the particles of a body and he can conceive no stronger 'cement' which would hold them together. 10

This theory is not connected with Yeatsian gyres except that there is a whirling motion implied.

There are several ideas in Boehme's writings which are echoed in A Vision, the most indisputable being that of the 'tinctures' 11 which are an essential part of the system of A Vision. We find in Boehme that the 'will fashions itself a mirror' and:

in this union of the joy of contemplation and of desire, of imagination and desire, the eternal nature hidden in God is aroused, and now comes forward as the contrarium of the idea.¹²

This doctrine can be found in the section of A Vision dealing with The Four Faculties, if we realise that Boehme's 'mirror' corresponds to the 'mask' in Yeats. These obvious parallels justify an examination of the belief in contraries which Boehme professed:

All existing things in nature are encircled by a magical band; they influence one another by attraction and repulsion, sympathy and antipathy 18

⁸ Vide E. Swedenborg, Arcana Coelestia, § 5171, 5173, 5181, 5182, 5183. (§ 5182 is identical with § 1015 of the Diarium Maius.)

E. Swedenborg, Arcana Coelestia, § 5183.

¹⁰ J. P. Mahaffy, Descartes, p. 159.

Boehme, in his turn, had derived these from Paracelsus. Cf. H. L. Martensen, Jacob Boehme, p. 31: "Boehme was influenced not only by his (Paracelsus') ideas but by his certainly barbarous terminology. From him Boehme also derives the term 'tinctures'."

¹² H. L. Martensen, Jacob Boehme, p. 33.

¹³ H. L. Martensen, op. cit., p. 62.

and the inevitability of change,14 which he stressed in the 40 Questions:

If the will has nothing of the divine power of true humility there can be no entering of it within itself into the life by means of death; but the soul is then like a furiously turning wheel, seeking continually to rise and continually sinking down on the other side ... There is in that state surely a kind of fire but not a combustion for there rules the severe harshness and bitterness. The bitterness seeks the fire and wants to increase it; but the actidity keeps it imprisoned and thus results in a terrible anxiety and resembles a turning wheel, turning perpetually around itself. 15

These conceptions are very similar to the views put forward in A Vision. On examining Yeats's diagrams to illustrate the gyres, such as the two opposing triangles



their connection with Boehme's semi-episodic explanation of the history of the universe becomes apparent. Boehme's tenth figure uses triangles to illustrate this principle:

Here Adam by that word of grace treasured up in his heart, whose name is Jesus, is raised so far, that he can stand above the Earthly globe, upon the basis of a fiery triangle which is an excellent emblem of his own soul, and the holy names Jesus above him upon the top of a watery triangle ∇ . And these two triangles which in Adam's fall were divorced from each other, do now touch each other again though (in this beginning) but in one point, that the Soul's desire may draw down into itself the ∇ and that the holy name may draw up into itself more and more the \triangle till these two make up a complete [hexagram],* the most significant figure in all the universe; for only then the work of Repentance and Reunion with Sophia will be absolved. And although, during this mortal life, no such perfection of the whole man can be wrought out, yet is it attainable in the inward part, and whatsoever seems to be an obstruction (even sin not excepted) must, for this very end, work together for good to them that love God 16 .

The idea of catastrophic change which comes at the end of each era of history in A Vision can also be found in Boehme:

'Centrum naturale' is thus, in Boehme, the first thing in nature, that original variance and conflict between opposing forces with which life begins, and which cannot lead it further than anguish, a tension, vibration, or gyration of the forces which is designated now as an apprehensive darkness, now as a fire which is not yet kindled, but smoulders in the depth, which only the lightning is able to bring out of this restlessness into subordination to the higher principle.¹⁷

¹⁴ H. L. Martensen, op. cit., p. 258.

¹⁵ Jacob Boehme, 40 Questions (Edited Franz Hartmann).

^{*} Boehme's text has the figure of a hexagram [vide Webster], which is not available at the moment of printing.

Vide Rev. W. Law's An illustration of the Deep Principles of Jacob Boehme the Teutonic Philosopher in thirteen figures. — Proof that Yeats was acquainted with this work can be found in a reference in A Packet for Ezra Pound, p. 31, where Yeats writes that 'One remembers the diagrams in Law's Boehme where one lifts a flap to discover both the human entrails and the starry heavens, and that William Blake thought them worthy of Michael Angelo, but remains almost unintelligible because he never drew the like.'

17 H. L. Martensen, op. cit., p. 77.

These are the sources which Yeats gives us, but he modifies their application:

Swedenborg and Blake and many before them knew that all things had their gyres; but Swedenborg and Blake preferred to explain them figuratively, and so I am the first to substitute for Biblical or mythological figures historical movements and actual men and vomen.

What he does mean by a gyre can be gathered from A Vision:

A line is a symbol of time, and expresses a movement, symbolising the emotional subjective mind without extension in space; a plane, cutting the line at right angles, is spatial, the symbol of objectivity and intellect. A gyre is a combination of line and plane, and as one tendency or the other must always be stronger the gyre is always expanding or contracting. The gyre is drawn as a cone which represents sometimes the individual soul and its history, sometimes general life. For this cone two cones are substituted since neither the soul of man or nature can be expressed without conflict.

There are then four gyres, two expanding, two narrowing, the apex of each cone coinciding with the base of the other:

When, however, a narrowing and widening gyre reach their limit, the one the utmost contraction, the other the utmost expansion, they change places, point to circle, circle to point, for this system conceives the world as catastrophic, and continue as before, one always narrowing, one always expanding, and yet bound for ever to one another.

Here Yeats asserts that much of Parmenides, Empedocles and especially Heraclitus can be explained. He quotes Heraclitus:

When strife was fallen to the lowest depth of the vortex (not as might be supposed, Birkett explains, the centre, but the extreme bound) and love has reached the centre of the whirl, in it do all things come together so as to be one only — For of a truth they (Love & Strife) were afore time and shall be, nor ever can boundless time be emptied of the pair, and they prevail in turn as the circle comes round, and pass away before one another and increase in their appointed time.

The single cone, he writes, whose extreme limits are described as anima hominis and anima mundi, is formed by the whirling of a sphere which moves onward leaving an empty coil behind it; and the double cones by the separating of two whirling spheres that have been one. Later parts of A Vision illustrate the connection between the gyres and the cones:

Each age unwinds the thread another age had wound, and it amuses me to remember that before Phidias and his westward moving art, Persia fell, and that when full moon came round again, amid eastward moving thought, and brought Byzantine glory, Rome fell; and that at the outset of our westward moving Renaissance Byzantium fell; all things dying each other's life, living each other's death.¹⁸

The gyres are touching the sides of the cones and are the horizontal movement. There is a continuous oscillation at work, symbolised by 'the King and Queen who are sun and moon also, and whirl round and round as they mount up through a Round Tower' 19.

¹⁸ W. B. Yeats, A Vision, p. 183.

¹⁹ Cf. W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 154.

The symbolic meaning of gyres in the poems of Yeats is best illustrated in 'The Second Coming' 20:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre The falcon cannot leave the falcorer; Things fall apart: the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

These lines are explained when we realise that in the Yeatsian system modern civilisation had its initial impulse in the teaching of Christ. He is, in this poem, the falconer who began an era of history which has almost reached its conclusion:

> In pity for man's darkening thought He walked that room and issued thence In Galilean turbulence ...21

The falcon is man, losing touch with Christianity at the time the poem is written. The civilisation of the poem's period began with Christ at the point of the cone, and the gyre which then began has almost reached its fullest expansion. When it reaches this fullest expansion there will be a revolution, a catastrophic change 'from circle to point', the point being the apex of an historical period beginning its course in an opposite direction to the previous age as 'The Second Coming' predicts:

> The darkness drops again: but now I know That twenty centuries of stony sleep Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle And what rough beast, its hour come round at last. Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

The imagery of this poem (which is couched in the idiom of A Vision and must be understood in reference to that work) may not be indebted to the sources which Yeats enumerated. There is a passage in Dante where the image of a falcon is used in the same manner as that of 'The Second Coming'. Dante and Virgil reach the eighth circle of Hell seated on Geryon's back, much to Dante's terror:

> But he whose succour then not first I proved. Soon as I mounted, in his arms aloft. Embracing, held me up; and thus he spake: 'Geryon I now move thee: be thy wheeling gyres Of ample circuit, easy thy descent ... As falcon that hath long been on the wing But lure nor bird hath seen, while in despair The falconer cries, 'Ah me! thou stoop'st to earth,' Wearled descends whence nimbly he arose In many an airy wheel and lighting sits At distance from his lord in angry mood ... 22

²⁰ W. R. Yente, Collected Poems, p. 210.

W. B. Cop. cit., p. 238.
Dante, Wision of Hell, Canto XVII. Cary's translation.

The similarity between this passage and Yeats's 'The Second Coming' is obvious. Geryon's gyres are described by the 'many an airy wheel' of the falcon. Yeats's falcon also travels in gyres. Mrs. Francis Stuart ('a girl that knew all Dante once' 23) has told me that Yeats was extremely fond of the Doré illustrated edition of Dante which she possessed. This edition contains two pictures of Geryon emerging from the abyss with his body shaped like the path of a gyre on a cone. The shape of this monster is unusual and would have impressed Yeats by its peculiarity. If he thought of gyres in connection with a poem to be written on cycles of history the shape of Geryon might have come into his mind, and from that to the image of the falcon is but a small step in the path Dante had made. That Yeats was interested in the mere movement of gyration from a much earlier period than that in which gyres appear in his poetry can be seen from his allusion to an old countrywoman's description of spirits ascending in what is, to all intents and purposes, a gyre. An essay, 'The Friends of the People of Faery', shows that he records the movement as delicate and graceful; there is as yet no particular idea that this twirling upwards of the spirits has any symbolic significance, beyond the fact that it was unusual and important because of its use by the fairies. His description of the 'wee woman's' disappearance illustrates the movement thus:

With that she gave a swirl round on her feet and raises up in the air and round and round she goes, and up and up, as if it was a winding stairs she went up, only far swifter. She went up and up, till she was no bigger than a bird up against the clouds, singing and singing the whole time the loveliest music I ever heard in my life from that day to this.²⁴

Since it seems likely that Yeats drew from other sources than those which he listed in A Vision, and since Yeats's interest in some of these other sources depends upon a visual concept of a mere movement we can question whether all the uses of 'gyres' in his poetry depend on the material of A Vision, or whether the word is sometimes employed merely because it represents a movement pleasing to the poet. The word is used in its two senses in 'The Demon and the Beast'. The first line of this poem must be explained by A Vision's thought and terminology 26 if we are to extract from it the associations which it represented for Yeats and if we are not to be arrested by the unusual appearance of the line:

Though I had long perned in the gyre.

In the third verse -

For aimless joy had made me stop Beside the little lake To watch a white gull take

²³ W. B. Yeats, Last Poems & Plays, p. 76.

²⁴ W. B. Yeats, The Celtic Twilight (1902 edition), p. 205.

²⁸ W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 209.

²⁶ The gyre is between hatred and desire, an antithesis to which Yeats often refers in

A Vision and other writings.

A bit of bread thrown up into the air; Now gyring down and perning there He splashed where an absurd Portly green-pated bird Shook off the water from his back.

which is a description of a scene in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, the poet appears to use the word in a normal manner without any reference to the system of A Vision. The seagull's 'gyring down' is merely a description of its graceful movement ²⁷ (implicitly contrasted with that of the 'absurd' duck?)

There may have been a touch of humour in this second use of the word, a mockery of its more serious and esoteric meanings. We find that Yeats

altered these lines of an early poem:

There, through bewildered branches, go Winged loves borne on in gentle strife, Tossing and tossing to and fro The flaming circle of our life.

to

There the Loves a circle go, The flaming circle of our days, Gyring, spiring to and fro In those great ignorant leafy ways.²⁸

This alteration seems to have been made through a delight in the movement of the Loves (there is no need to consult A Vision for the meaning of the second version of the poem, for its basic thought of 'the circle of our life' remains unchanged) as well as the usefulness of achieving an internal rhyme ²⁹ in the revised version by the introduction of the word 'gyring'.

.. The eagle's cry

Who far above them, at her highest flight A speck scarce visible, gyred round and round.

Spenser (Faerie Queene, II, V, 8, and III, I, 23) and Rossetti (House of Life, Sonnet 'Cloud and Wind') both use the word for simple description. Yeats read these poets, and therefore had knowledge of the simple description of movement indicated by 'gyres', simple, that is, in the sense that no symbolic meaning was attached to the word as in Swedenborg and Boehme.

28 W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 54.

There through the broken branches, go
The ravens of unresting thought:
Peering and flying to and fro
To see men's souls bartered and bought.

with the corresponding lines of the revised version:

There through the broken branches, go The ravens of unresting thought Flying crying to and fro Cruel claw and hungry throat.

²⁷ There is nothing unusual in such a use of the word to indicate movement. Cf. Southey, *Poems*, 'Roderick'. I. 216:

This is illustrated by a comparison of the lines from the second verse of the early version:

The association of 'perning' with 'gyres' which occurs in 'Demon and Beast' requires explanation in 'Sailing to Byzantium'³⁰. Gwendolen Murphy seems to have misinterpreted the phrase 'perne in a gyre' when she writes:

Gyre, a spiral, here seems to represent the twisting twirling flames, the perne, the core of stillness. (Cf. Yeats' Collected Poems, p. 445, pern = spool) perne is usually spelt pirn a Scots word meaning spool or bobbin also spinning top: often used in proverbial phrases e.g. I shall have a fine ravelled pirn to unwind. (R. L. Stevenson Catriona, Ch. XXIII).³¹

This gyre does not represent flames, for if Yeats is being symbolic the word implies an abstract diagram; if not, it signifies the path of some moving body. Flames do not trace out a gyre, which is a deliberate movement. 'Gyre' could not describe both the movement of a sea-gull (as in 'The Demon and the Beast') and the 'twisting twirling flames' as Miss Murphy states. The gyre is chosen in 'Sailing to Byzantium' because it is a motion which pleased the poet. It had some supernatural significance; because it suggested a supreme design for all things it possessed a hint of the 'Artifice of eternity' into which the Sages were to lead the poet:

O sages standing in God's holy fire As in the gold mosaic of a wall Come from the holy fire, perne in a gyre And be the singing masters of my soul.

Once the Sages come from the holy fire they have obviously left it, and are therefore no longer in the flames, but are tracing out the movement which interested Yeats so much. 'Perne', according to Miss Murphy, is the 'core of stillness'. This assumption that 'perne' is a noun in the poem in question is not reinforced by argument, and as Yeats used the verbal 'perning' at least as frequently as the noun 'pern' we must examine the passage in 'Sailing to Byzantium' in the light of the word's meanings and Yeats's use of them.

He describes the word 'pern' in a note 32 as follows:

When I was a little child at Sligo I could see above my grandfather's trees a little column of smoke from 'the pern mill' and was told that 'pern' was another name for the spool as I was accustomed to call it, on which the thread was wound. One could not see the chimney for the trees, and one day a foreign sea-captain asked me if that was a smoking mountain.

Yeats ignored the other dictionary meaning ³³ of pern, viz. hawk or buzzard (the possibility of taking 'perne' in 'Sailing to Byzantium' as a memory of 'The Second Coming's' falcon in a gyre is too farfetched). 'Pern' meaning to change one's opinions for some ulterior object will not suit the line 'Though I had long perned in the gyre' ³⁴ without straining the sense, because Yeats was in this troubled condition neither by his own volition

³⁰ W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 217.

³¹ Gwendolen Murphy, The Modern Poet, p. 153.

³² W. B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 445.

³³ Cf. relevant portions, O.E.D. 34 W. B. Yeats, op. cit., p. 209.

nor for some ulterior purpose. 'Pern' meaning to spin or turn, however, suits both the metaphorical \$^35\$ and literal \$^36\$ senses of the word which we find in Yeats. 'Pernyng' (OED) is part of an obsolete verb prene/preen, and so does not suit the mood of Yeats's intense symbolic poems (e.g. it would be ridiculous to think of the sages preening themselves in a gyre) nor does it give the associations which 'perne' coined from 'pern' (= a spool) conveyed to Yeats. 'Perne' meaning to spin suggests at once connections with the twisted threads of Yeatsian spindle imagery; 'pirn' can mean, as well as a spool, a weaver's bobbin or reel \$^37\$. In Yeats's poetry a bobbin often symbolises a spirit; there are references to Plato's spindle; and 'The Fool by the Roadside' has in it a suggestion of Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos:

When all works that have
From cradle run to grave
From grave to cradle run instead;
When thoughts that a fool
Has wound upon a spool
Are but loose thread, are but loose thread.

In 'Crazy Jane and Jack the Journeyman' Yeats again plays with the image:

For love is but a skein unwound Between the dark and dawn.

In view of these examples it seems likely that Yeats would have used 'perne' as an imperative in 'Sailing to Byzantium'. 'Perne in a gyre', then, is for Yeats a phrase loaded with symbolic meaning ranging from Plato's philosophy to his own, from personal to impersonal fate, with beauty of movement and strangeness of language; a typical antithesis by which the poignantly remembered local dialect of his youth is chosen to hold the mystery and permanence of the sophisticated seers of cosmopolitan Byzantium.

Groningen.

A. Norman Jeffares.

W. B. Yeats, op. cit., p. 163: He unpacks the loaded pern
Of all 'twas pain or joy to learn.

W. B. Yeats, op. cit., p. 209: Gyring down and perning there.
 Cf. 'Hades' bobbin' in 'Byzantium' (Collected Poems, p. 280) and my article on 'The Byzantine Poems of W. B. Yeats'. Review of English Studies, Jan. 1946.

Notes and News

Ex-service men. Our note in the February number has drawn the following observations from Dr. Frederick T. Wood (Sheffield):

"I have now found an opportunity to put in some time at the library here with a view to ascertaining whether the phrase "service men" is to be discovered in the literature or records of the war of 1914-1918; and here is the result.

I started on the newspapers of the period, which were not very fruitful. The first thing of interest that I came across was an example of the attributive use of the plural "Services" from World War Number One.

The Services Club, 19, Stratford Place, W., have just acquired an adjoining house, which will be converted into bedrooms ... (*The Times, November 1st., 1917*, p. 3, Col. 5.)

From the Times I turned to the local paper, The Sheffield Daily Telegraph. In a letter in the issue of September 18th., 1918, appears the sentence.

Would it not be possible ... that discharged soldiers should be represented on all committees that have to deal with the training of discharged service men?

This is the only example of the phrase I found in the newspapers, though only files of the *Times* and the local papers for that period are available here in Sheffield; other newspapers of the time might have supplied further

examples.

As the armed forces must have been much discussed in Parliament during the war, it struck me that the Official Reports of the Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) might yield some information; and they did. Each volume (Fifth Series) covers roughly one month, and is indexed at the end. In the index to each volume from the beginning of the war up to July 15th., 1917 (Vol. 95) occurs an entry "Disabled Soldiers and Sailors". In Vol. 96 (July 16—Aug. 3, 1917) this is replaced by "Disabled Men"; the next two volumes (August 6—November 8, 1917) revert to "Disabled Soldiers and Sailors", but in the index to Vol. 99 (Nov. 12-29, 1917) the entry is amended to "Disabled Service Men", and this it remains in all subsequent volumes.

The phrase occurs several times as a Heading in the "text" of the Reports. In Vol. 110 (Oct.-Nov., 1918) there twice occurs the heading "Discharged Service Men" (col. 276, 324), and in Vol. 96 (July 16—August 3, 1917) col. 2309, "Disabled Service Men". The earliest example I have been able to find is in Vol. 93 (April 30—May 21, 1917), on col. 608 of which there appears the heading "Disabled Service Men", though in the index this is

listed under the entry "Disabled Soldiers and Sailors".

Two things strike me as notable about these examples. First, all those from Hansard are either index-entries or headings to denote the subject-matter of a debate. In all cases, in the speeches that follow the heading the

phrase is never used; it is always either "soldiers and sailors", or merely "men" — as the months go on the tendency is to use the latter more frequently. This would suggest that at this time the phrase was a part of the "official", editorial vocabulary rather than that of the Cabinet Minister, the M.P. or the man in the street, though the quotation from the Sheffield Telegraph shows that the last of these was quick to take it over and adopt it.

Secondly, all the service men referred to in the examples I have been able to collect are either "disabled" or "discharged", i.e., presumably, not actually serving, and therefore in effect "Ex-service men". I have not been able to find an instance of the phrase used to denote a soldier or sailor who is still actively serving in his particular branch of the armed forces.

I should not be surprised if, when all the evidence is available, you find

that the development has been something like this:

1. Soldier, sailor.

2. Ex-soldier, ex-sailor.

- 3. Ex-service men (so as to include both of the above).
- 4. Discharged/Disabled Service men (on the analogy of 3).
- 5. Service men/women (by a process akin to "back-formation").
- 6. Service people (to include both sexes and all the services)."

We thank Dr. Wood for his interesting contribution, which establishes the use of the phrase "service men", always preceded, it is true, by the qualification "disabled" or "discharged", during the first World War. Dr. Wood's hypothesis as to the origin of the phrase appears quite plausible. In the present state of the evidence, however, what would seem necessary for a definite solution would be an examination of printed sources dealing with the same subject in connection with the Boer War. We are not suggesting that Dr. Wood should devote any more of his spare time to such an investigation; it could be undertaken by any one living near a public library that contains back volumes of Hansard and of *The Times* or other English newspapers from the beginning of the century. The question remains: is the phrase service men older than ex-service men, or, paradoxically, is it the other way round? 1

In an earlier letter Dr. Wood wrote: "I have come across another example of the attributive use of the plural "Services" which you can put with "Services canteen". While I was travelling in a railway carriage a few days ago I noticed that a fellow-passenger (an R.A.F. officer) was reading a paper-covered copy of a popular novel, and across the front of the cover was printed in large letters "Services Edition".

Dr. Wood continues: "I see that on page 26 of E. S. it is stated that "the form [atoum] is now quite usual among educated speakers for at home."

¹ The News Bulletin of the British Embassy, The Hague, 13th May 1946, heads one of its articles: "Employment for Ex-Service Personnel." Further on it speaks of "young men and women from the services."

Surely this is an over-statement. It would probably be more correct to say that it is heard more frequently than one would suppose (I believe Winston Churchill uses it), but I think that ninety per cent of educated speakers would still condemn it."

Reviews

Studies in the ME Dialects of Devon and London. By Hjördis Вонман. (Diss. Göteborg 1944.) XV + 363 pp. Kr. 14.50.

The aim of this large volume is to investigate the ME dialects of Devon and London on the basis of place-name spellings, and to establish the relation of the form of Devon place-names to what the authoress terms 'the official Westminster language' or 'the Westminster (London) dialect'. The book thus in reality consists of two different investigations, one an examination into the ME London dialect as revealed by place-names, the other a similar examination into the dialect of Devon. The connecting link is the authoress's inference that the Devon place-names that are the basis of her investigation, were strongly influenced by the London language, which made it necessary to deal with the London names together with the Devon ones in order to ascertain the extent of this influence. A number of different sounds. OE \$\overline{a}\$, \$\vec{v}\$, \$\vec{e}a\$, \$\vec{e}a\$, and the i-mutation of \$\vec{e}a\$ and \$\vec{e}a\$ are examined in London and Devon place-names, and an attempt is made to determine in each case what is the genuine Devon form and what is due to the 'official' language. For this purpose three groups of sources are distinguished: (1) central documents written in the governmental chancelleries in London; (2) local documents drawn up and written by Devon or City authorities and scribes; and (3) half-central documents, i.e. documents drawn up locally, but in the presence of itinerant royal officials, and probably written by them or by their clerks. A division on these lines is advisable when using placename forms as linguistic material, as has at least been realized by previous scholars. A similar grouping of the sources is expressly made by Brandl in his Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte, p. 32 ff. But it is of value to have this point of view clearly stated, as we have it here, even though it is possible to argue about various points in the grouping of the documents as it actually appears.

In dealing with the place-names of London, the authoress claims to have discovered that the London language in reality consisted of two distinct dialects, the City dialect and the Westminster dialect. Ever since Heuser's Alt-London it has been generally held that the City dialect was an East Saxon dialect. This is very plausible, as London was once the capital of the East Saxon kingdom, as seen in Bede. The East Saxon character of

the language of the City was clearly marked until well into the 14th century. Chaucer's language retains many of its features, and in modern Cockney sech and shet, and the pronunciation of bury and merry we still have a trace of the old dialect. Mrs. Bohman's investigation bears out Heuser's conclusions on this point. At the same time it has probably been more or less explicitly assumed that there existed no great difference between the City and Westminster pronunciation, or, if a difference, a more markedly south-western character in the Westminster variant of London English than in the City variant, as might be inferred from the language of the Proclamation of Henry III.

However, though her division of the London sources into local documents written in the City and central documents written in Westminster, the authoress believes herself capable of proving that the 'Westminster dialect' was quite distinct from the City dialect. The Westminster dialect was an Anglian, or at least largely an Anglian dialect, and she suggests that the Anglian characteristics of the 'Westminster official language' were a consequence of the political supremacy of Mercia over south-eastern England and London in the 8th and 9th centuries. But this will hardly be found convincing, and on the whole one gets no very clear idea of the

nature of this language or dialect postulated by the authoress.

The first chapter contains an investigation of OE & (WG a), the chief element containing this sound being OE stræt. Here the ESax a-type is characteristic of the City dialect; but 'central' documents, which in the opinion of the authoress represent the Westminster dialect, have predominantly e. Towards the end of the 13th century e-forms become more and more frequent in all kinds of documents, and she conjectures that the spread set in 'after the rise of organised royal government offices in Westminster, but hardly in a noteworthy degree before the middle of the 13th century'. This would consequently be her date for the rise of the official Westminster language, though it occasionally appears that this language is to be reckoned with as early as the beginning of the 13th century (e.g. p. 140). The remaining sounds are dealt with on identical lines, and it appears that the Westminster language exerted a strong influence not only on the City but also on the Devon dialects. In the General Conclusions its influence is summed up as follows: "It was the royal and ecclesiastical authorities that introduced the London spelling in Devon. It seems to have been first adopted in the case of common words used as place-name elements, the names of well-known places and the bynames of influential persons and families. This is the first stage in the process through which the London spelling became Standard English in Devon. The influence of the foreign dialect, which very likely was regarded as refined speech by the Devon people, was probably strongest on the placenames most frequently heard and read with their more official character. Owing to the strong London influence in early ME the dependence on the London (Westminster) smelling seems to have been largely traditional in Devon... As regards the results of my investigation of the London influence on the Devon dialect, I call attention to the fact that they are based only on the spellings of place-name forms. The native Devon pronunciation of common words such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. was probably influenced in a lesser degree than that of the place-names, owing partly to the pronunciation tradition among the Devon people, partly to the royal officials using Latin and French." However, in spite of this and of the numerous references to it in the text, the character of this early ME. 'Westminster dialect' or 'Westminster official language' remains vague. It would seem not to be identical with the London Standard, which the researches of Morsbach and Flasdieck have shown to have originated in the late 14th and spread mostly in the 15th century to other parts of England. This appears from references on pp. 127 and 164 to Standard English as something different from the Westminster official language; yet we are told (p. 174) that important features of Standard English originate from the Westminster official language.

A cardinal point here is apparently to distinguish between dialect and place-name spellings. The latter do not in themselves constitute a dialect, though they can be used to illustrate one. If there existed an official language at this early period it was no doubt Latin or French. The 13th century Anglian Westminster 'dialect' appears to have had no existence outside the spelling of place-name elements in 'central' sources, at least there is no proof that it had. The 'influence' of the Westminster language on the early ME. dialect of Devon seems actually to amount to no more than the spelling of Devon place-names by non-Devon scribes. Who these scribes were, or from what part of England, we do not know, and it seems clear that what the authoress terms 'the Westminster language' is at most a certain scribal tradition in recording place-name forms among the clerical staff connected with the central administrative offices. This tradition would be of a fairly variable character, owing to changes of scribes or similar circumstances — this is clearly illustrated through the Devon episcopal registers (pp. 58 ff.), whose scribes at least in part are known — and this is probably the simple explanation of for instance certain variations in the spelling of the y-sound in the 'Westminster dialect' which puzzled the authoress (pp. 37 ff.) and of other similar cases.

One difficulty in using place-name material for phonological purposes is that the spellings do not always represent the local dialect, but are adapted to their own pronunciation by scribes familiar with forms different from those of the local dialect, This has long been known and recognised, and at least as regards common elements it has been found necessary to exercise a certain caution in using them as material for dialect research. But it seems far from this well-established principle to the authoress's theory of an early ME. 'official' language and of its influence on local dialects, and there can be no doubt that she overstresses her point to a very considerable degree. The essential consideration in investigations of this kind is not so much to distinguish between 'central' and 'local' documents — though it must be admitted that the latter frequently, though not invariably, are the more

valuable from a dialectal point of view - as to distinguish between names and name elements that are etymologically clear and therefore liable to suffer alteration by scribes having a dialect different from the local dialect; and names and name elements that are not so readily identifiable by the scribes and therefore are faithfully reproduced in local and other sources alike. For the former category, documents other than local ones probably vield less reliable results than local documents, though they are by no means valueless. The authoress only pays occasional attention to this principle, but it is more valuable than to trace minute variations in the Westminster 'language', and their influence on local dialects. The results of this are of little real value, as the variations are largely scribal and of uncertain provenance. The theoretical nature of these speculations is particularly well illustrated by, for instance, the assumption of 'influence' from the City dialect on Devon place-names (e.g. pp. 28 f., 69, 71, 100) or that the diphthongal form of OE ea in Devon is 'symptomatic of the very strong London influences on the Devon spelling', to mention only a couple of examples. The authoress is somewhat prone to theorising (as she seems to imply herself by saying that her conclusions in many cases seem to be 'vague suppositions' though strengthened when they agree as to similar facts) and one is inclined to place a query mark against more than one of her suggestions throughout the book.

Apart from the questions discussed above, where the authoress's views do not seem to me on the whole acceptable, the volume contains material and results of considerable value. It provides an enormous number of early spellings, which can be used as a firm basis for the determination of the respective dialects of Devon and London, and constitute a valuable addition to and check on the literary sources. No investigation into the Devon dialect on these lines has appeared before, and one therefore studies the conclusions arrived at with considerable interest. The investigation into the London dialect is far fuller than any that has been published previously, and it will be difficult to add considerably to the authoress's findings. At the same time, her attempt to give full statistical material has led her to include some questionable examples. It must be considered an important basic principle of investigations of this kind only to build conclusions on name elements of undoubted etymology or at least whose OE form can be safely established as far as the sound in question is concerned. One finds a considerable number of instances in the book that do not fulfil this condition in addition to those queried by the authoress, and which ought not to have been considered in the discussion of the dialect. Crypel (p. 43), for instance, may be OE creopel rather than crypel in view of the constant e-forms; cf. Holthausen, crēopel, crypel; nor can Hall in London (pp. 88, 254) very well be from OE heall on account of the invariable e of the early forms; one may compare Helvete ('Hell') as a name of certain quarters of some Swedish towns. For the 14th century City form werf (p. 87) Dutch werf should perhaps be taken into consideration. Meeth(e), Devon, is assumed by Ekwall to be from OE gemūbe on account of the situation of

the places. Madford, Devon, is hardly from an OE *mæber; why not from mæddre 'madder'? The Devon place-name Beenleigh scarcely contains OE beo; the first element may be binnan, beonnan 'within'; cf. the discussion, p. 153. The word pyll, p. 225, does not seem to be a safe instance of OE y. It is from OW pill, W pwll. We have the form pil(1) in various OE examples. Among further doubtful cases may be mentioned Malborough, Dennington, Silkland, Bideford, Harberton and several Devon names taken to contain OE hreod 'reed'. Birchin Lane, City, pp. 135, 302, is OE *Beardceorfereslane, not *Beorc- (Ekwall, StNPh 17, p. 32). It should also be noted that the development in an unstressed or weakly stressed position may often be different from that of identical elements in a fully stressed position, a circumstance to which the authoress does not seem to pay sufficient attention. Finally, it should be added that the book is not an exhaustive analysis of the respective dialects. Various interesting features of the Devon dialect noted in the introduction to the Place-name Society's volumes on Devon are not mentioned, and from the City some additional material, chiefly personal names, may be found in Heuser's Alt-London.

Lund, O. Arngart.

Französische Lehnwörter und Lehnbedeutungen im Englischen des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Spiegelbild französischer Kultureinwirkung. Von P. Leidig. (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie hrgg. von Max Förster, Heft XXXVII.) xxxii + 408 pp. Bochum-Langendreer: H. Poppinghaus. 1941. RM. 17.—.

This work, dealing with words and meanings adopted from French in the course of the eighteenth century, covers a very important period. With regard to the time covered it forms a continuation of A. Ksoll's Die französischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter in der englischen Sprache der Restaurationszeit (Diss. Breslau 1933) and F. Rösener's (not Rösner as the author and Miss Serjeantson have it in their bibliographies) Die französischen Lehnwörter im Frühneuenglischen (Diss. Marburg 1907). the latter of which only covers the 16th century and is moreover incomplete, because OED was not yet complete at the time, only treating the sections A-L, M-Mesnalty, P-Pfennig, Q, R-Reserve. An exhaustive complementary work for the Middle Ages has not yet been written, though we have of course Miss M. S. Serjeantson's History of Foreign Words in English (London 1935), which is, however, of a more general nature and admittedly very incomplete (Cf. Preface VII), giving for the 18th century only circa 200 words, whereas Leidig gives some 1500 (of which only one third at the most are adopted senses, the rest — over 1000 — being adopted words), the chapters devoted to them by Brunot in his Histoire de la Langue Française, tome VIII¹, Mettig's Die französischen Elemente im Alt- und Mittelenglischen (800-1258) E. Sn., XXXXI, 177 ff., Feist's Studien zur Rezeption des Französischen Wortschatzes im Mittelenglischen, 1934, and F. H. Sykes, French Elements in Middle English, Oxford 1899. I have not been able to lay hands on the last-mentioned work, but judging from the date and other indications, it can hardly be exhaustive. There are also a number of theses dealing with the loss of Old English words and their substitution in Middle English, by Hemken, Offe, Oberdörffer, Teichert and Jaeschke, which incidentally throw some light on our problem,¹ but all this still leaves room for an exhaustive treatment.

If we compare the above-mentioned works with the 'Habilitationsschrift' under review, we must confess that not one of these volumes, with the exception perhaps of Ksoll, deals with the subject in a manner so exhaustive, thorough and accurate as does this work. In this respect it is a model which might be held up to any one who intends to undertake a similar work for another period and even for the scholar who might be tempted to give us a standard work on the whole French infusion, as Bense gave it for the Dutch element.

After defending his limitation of the period dealt with to exactly one century, as against Brunot's division (1715-1789), the author sets forth the principles of his selection. Taking for his basis the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (ed. 1934, the second edition of 1936 not being at the author's disposal), as the later and handier work for this purpose, the author afterwards supplemented it with the additional material from the OED, which also supplied fuller references and dates of the first mention of special meanings. In general the divergence between the two works did not prove to be great, though there were some notable differences.

The author includes in his material words which are French in sound and spelling (animé), adoptions of French words (fatigue), adaptations of French words (federalism), words formed on the French (isolated), words apparently French (personify), probably French (bouche v.) and formed after French models (rear-vassal). Other words which, though French in form, yet are English in sense-formation, such as corduroy, ramillie, are kept apart from the first group, as are also words of doubtful French origin and words which, though containing a French adoption, are in reality English developments (abandon sb. 2 from v.), ambassadress (from ambassador and -ess) and some other groups, of which the most interesting are the learned formations, which reached English through the medium of French, but which in contrast to what happened in Dutch, preserved the Latin form. Jespersen also devoted some attention to this class of adoptions in his Growth and Structure of the English Language, 8th ed. 1935, §§ 114-5.

Another important category to which the author is the first to devote some real attention is the derivation of new meanings: Lehnbedeutungen,

¹ Cf. the present writer's article in Neophilologus, xxvi, xxvii: On the Loss and Substitution of Words in Middle English.

for which we suggest 'sense adoption', or 'adopted sense' in English, which denotes cases in which a word is borrowed anew in another sense, and which is of course something very different from a development of such new senses in English itself, though not always easy to distinguish from it. It is, however, a very important element which had up till now never been systematically recorded.

The author also discusses the discrepancy in time between the oral reception of a word into the language and its first mention in writing, but concludes that whereas this discrepancy may be very large in some periods—as it is for instance in early Middle English—the divergence can never be very wide in the 18th century. As to the dates of first mention, the author has carefully checked and critically compared the dates as given in OED with those of SOED, Brunot and Ksoll, and noticed a good many cases in which Brunot or Ksoll can adduce an earlier date than the other two works. Some of the words selected from OED and SOED even had to be excluded as belonging to a previous century. In cases where OED differed from SOED, the revised date from the latter work has been adopted.

The lists of adoptions have been drawn up alphabetically. Under each letter we first get the adoptions (1A) and sense-adoptions (1B). Next follow doubtful adoptions (2A) and sense-adoptions (2B), comprising such cases as might be English developments. Here the decision is often extremely difficult. The author rightly objects to Brunot's procedure in many cases (pp. 48-50), the mistakes and inconsistencies of which he ascribes not to Brunot himself but to his assistants. In his list Brunot has often adduced cases of reapparition, by which are meant words that reappear in the language after having been adopted and lost again. The principle itself is sound enough linguistically, unfortunately Brunot's application is faulty, since he bases his decisions on the quotations as given in OED, which in many cases are for want of space restricted to one for each century, so that what looks like reapparition, is very often nothing of the kind, the word having been in continuous use all the time. True cases of reapparition are noted under 1C, doubtful ones under 3A.

In the third chapter the author discusses the 18th-century purists, of whom Johnson was the principal leader, and the manner in which words were anglicised. He also mentions a few cases in which whole phrases were anglicised by translation, a process to the result of which the French have given the apt name of 'calque'. The list of 'calques' given by Leidig (semaine sainte > holy week, faire une sortie > make a sortie, etc.) might easily be extended. We hope in a further article to give some of the results of our own investigations in this field, preparatory to a complete publication of our material concerning this most interesting phenomenon.

Chapter four contains the above-mentioned lists, followed by a critical apparatus (Ch. V), which is often very informative. Together these two chapters take up 180 pages, or nearly half the work. A statistic survey shows us that the number of indubitable adoptions and sense-adoptions in the 18th century amounts to 1513, a considerable number in view of the

average vocabulary of a cultured person, while there are some 250 doubtful cases. The author also gives a total number of words discussed, but I have not been able to discover by any means how he arrives at this figure (1778).

Next follows 'der kulturhistorische Teil', which opens with a list of authors from which we gather that, leaving apart dictionaries, such as Chambers's Cyclopaedia and Supplement, Phillips's Dictionary, Bailey's Dictionary, etc., and collections like the Transactions of the Royal Society and the London Gazette, which provide us with 98, 64, 45, 38 and 34 firstmentions respectively, by far the greatest individual contributors were Walpole with 66, and the Earl of Chesterfield with 49 first-mentions. These are followed by the Annual Register with 31, Burke and Goldsmith with 29 each, Smollett with 26, Addison with 19, Pope with 15, Sterne with 13, Dr. Johnson and Steele with 12 each, while Harris's Technical Lexicon has 20 and Bradley's Family Dictionary 16 items. We shall not trouble the reader with all the other minor contributors. Interesting though this list may be, we would take this occasion to point out that it should be handled with care, because it should be remembered that it refers to firstmentions only, for if this is not kept in view, it may be misleading for several reasons. First of all it does not express the proportion of French words in any one's vocabulary, secondly it leaves unnoticed such important points as phraseology, style and syntax.

The third list is based on the principles adopted by Brunot and Miss Serjeantson and gives the various loans as distributed over the various categories: nature and life, man, the family, society, the state; trade, industry and commerce; crafts, technics, art and science. This again is a very instructive list, showing the various departments in which French influence was greatest. We shall refer to it again below.

In the third part of the work (Kulturhistorische Deutung) the author gives a most interesting survey of the various authors who had most influence in this sphere. He shows the lively contact and intercourse there was between the English and the French aristocracy, and how in social respect (the life of the 'salons'!) France deeply influenced such men as Chesterfield and Horace Walpole. The Letters of Lord Chesterfield to the French aristocrats Mme de Monconseil and Mme du Boccage, and those to his son and godson are most illuminating in this respect. His English letters swarm with French words and expressions. Horace Walpole's connection with Madame du Deffand makes his remarks about France of great interest and value. His attitude is more critical than that of Chesterfield, but still his opinion is: "L'Angleterre et la France ont en elle-même tout ce qu'il faut pour contribuer au bonheur." It need hardly be added that both Chesterfield's and Walpole's views of France are those of aristocrats. rest of humanity is simply ignored by them. The author here adduces some interesting data from Paul Yvon's article on "Les Français et la société anglaise au XVIIIe siècle" (Revue de l'enseignement des langues vivantes, Paris 1912). It appears from the lists that Walpole and Chesterfield were the principal transmitters of French culture to England. Lady Wortley Montagu, George Selwyn, Mrs. Delany, Fanny Burney, Lady Luxborough, and Mrs. Manley are the other writers whose letters and memoirs are discussed in detail.

As to professional writers, Burke uses 21 (out of his total of 29) first mentions in the nineties, a significant fact for it was at that time that he busied himself especially with French affairs. Goldsmith, Smollett, Addison, Pope, Sterne, Johnson, Steele, Swift, Gray, Gibbon and Hume are the chief authors discussed, nor are Berkeley and Garrick neglected.

What stands out most clearly in the discussion of such influence is the importance the Grand Tour had for all these men. France was the country where they got their first impressions of the Continent, which were strengthened by a comparatively long stay in Paris. France again was

most often the country by which they returned to England.

Translation, too, as in the case of Goldsmith, was a source of influence. It not only influenced the vocabulary but the style as well, as may be seen from the following quotation from Church: "What I want to emphasize is the importance of French cadence and fluidity of prose formation which Goldsmith brought into English" (quoted by Leidig on p. 291). Any one who has studied Workman's publication on Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940) will realize how old this French influence on English style really is, and how great is the debt which has accumulated through the ages. French influence on Pope was very great, as was shown by E. Audra in L'Influence française dans l'œuvre de Pope, Paris 1931. Gibbon went to Lausanne at the age of 16 and lived there for five years, learning French so well that he almost forgot his English.² His Essai sur l'étude de la littérature (1761) was written in French and only published in English in 1764. His syntax was no doubt influenced by that of French, though Taine went too far in his zeal to prove this. As to Hume, the Cambridge History of English Literature, X, 283 admits that his three years' stay at the Jesuit monastery of La Flèche had an important influence on the style of his History.

The author next proceeds to the Dictionaries, periodicals, translations, scientific literature and the language of trades and professions, while the influence of Scotland as a medium for transmission is touched upon.

With regard to the various domains of human activity and interest within whose spheres the new mentions are found, the fact is revealed that words like avalanche, crampon, moraine did not enter English until 1789, when Cox used them for the first time in Travels in Switzerland. In the religious field the influence of French is almost negligible. Brunot attributes this to the national character of the Church of England, Leidig seeks the explanation rather in the fact that it was the England of the middle and lower classes which was the bearer of religious sentiment in those days, and that this section of society had few contacts with France. No doubt both authors

² Cf. G. Bonnard, Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne, 17 Août 1763 — 19 Avril 1764. Lausanne, 1945. — Ed.

are equally right and their views complementary: the Establishment excluded Roman (hence also French Roman Catholic) influence in its sphere, and on the other hand there was neither contact nor even the basis for it between Roman Catholic France and Nonconformist England. The words tolerance and tolerant reflect the attitude of the age of rationalism.

In the domains of the kitchen, society, fashion, the theatre and dancing, the influence was great. As to statecraft, the word police also dates from this century. In the field of the army and war, the influence was greatest of all. In technics it was England which was in advance, hence the proportion of adoptions is very small, whereas in architecture France of course played a leading part. In connection with landscape gardening the author draws our attention to the well-known fact that English gardening soon diverged from the stiff and artificial French garden and substituted for it that freer art of landscape gardening which it borrowed from the Chinese. A good example of this influence may be found in Kew Gardens with its pagoda. Sculpture, music, literary criticism, the drama, are all domains in which French influence predominates. In the case of the novel things are somewhat different: though the influence of Marivaux may be doubtful, that of Rousseau is indubitable. Poetry, too, was strongly influenced by French examples.

The question arises whether such similarities should be attributed to parallelism or to actual influence. When Edmund Gosse in his History of Eighteenth Century Literature (1930) maintains that "what is so similar in the English and French poetry of the 18th century is mainly an accidental parallelism or a likeness due to simultaneous action of similar intellectual forces, and not to be accounted for by any very definite discipleship on one hand or the other" (pp. 391-2) (quotation from Leidig p. 390), we think he is decidedly wrong. The words and senses adopted in this period point to the opposite conclusion. As to the explanation from 'accidental parallelism', in view of the facts it is of course untenable, and one wonders how, apart from motives of national self-sufficiency, it could be seriously put forward. The second alternative is certainly worth considering, but though such 'similar intellectual forces' must have created a certain predisposition to accept the achievements of another nation, which at an earlier date gave definite and conscious expression to any such tendency in thought, yet Audra in L'Influence française dans l'œuvre de Pope (Paris 1931) is certainly much nearer the mark in rejecting the opinion of leading English critics like de Quincey, Gosse and Courthope, and speaking openly of great French influence.

In heraldry, science, geology, anatomy, zoology, botany, medicine, and chemistry France was in advance of England, and consequently the number of adoptions is great, significantly so in chemistry.

After drawing our attention to the rôle of mediator which French fulfilled in the transmission of oriental words, the author gives a general survey of the investigation. The two main sources of influence were scientific terms and the language of the upper classes, hence society life. More specifically the

greatest contributions are found in the following domains: the army and war, chemistry, zoology, architecture and cookery. Next follow society, philosophy, dress, the theatre, politics and music.

As will be seen from our review the work is more than a philological dissertation. It is also a contribution to the study of the mutual cultural relations between England and France.

We would add a few remarks to the points we have already touched upon in the course of our survey. With regard to the attitude we should take towards purism, the English language is very instructive. Supposing English had adopted an attitude of extreme purism, how much the poorer the language would have been for it! We consider the infusion of a great number of Romance words after the Conquest, which gave the language a capability of easily absorbing and assimilating new quantities of similar infusions in after centuries, one of the greatest blessings for the development of English. That the English people have in their language a means of expression at once forceful and pliable is no doubt due to the immense number of Romance words absorbed, quite apart from the fact that the language has gained immensely in richness and subtlety of distinction. Nor should we forget the tremendous influence on English style by a mode of writing which reflected the higher cultures of Rome and Paris. To have shut itself off from these influences would have been a culpable impoverishment and stultification. We would, however, not advocate an indiscriminate absorption of foreign terms, though no doubt language itself rights many of its wrongs in course of time, and even such uncritical adoption is to be preferred to an attitude of extreme purism.

We have checked part of the material and found the author's proceeding on the whole well-advised and conservative, sometimes almost too conservative, as in the case of languor in the sense of 'tenderness or softness (of mood, feeling, etc.), lassitude of spirit caused by amorous longing', first used by Johnson in 1751 (OED sense 4d). This is undoubtedly a sense adopted from the French, since Littré (langueur: ... de la passion de l'amour) already gives instances from Corneille and Racine. It is obvious that this sense is due to French influence, yet Leidig does not mention it.

We were struck by the fact, also recorded by Jespersen in his Growth and Structure of the English Language, §§ 110 and 111, ed. 1912, that so many words formed after the French (or Latin) appear at an earlier date in English than in French, though the frequent absence of exact dates in the great French dictionaries often makes it difficult to settle this point. So e.g. lactate E. 1794, F. 1802; lactescent (E. 1796, F. 1802); lanceolate E. 1760, F. 1783.

The bibliography is incomplete. Many more works are mentioned in the notes than are to be found in it. These do, however, occur in the index. As regards the adopted senses the reader is not in a position to critically judge the author's decision whether such senses are English developments or not, since the actual quotations are not given. For these he has to consult the OED (as e.g. group 112), though in some cases it must be

admitted that no confirmation by quotations is needed (basin, 76).

Another question is whether a few graphs or diagrams would not admirably illustrate by their curves which and how many words crop up in a given year or period of say five or ten years, and thus shed fresh light on the ebb and flow of the infusion.

A surprising fact emerging from this study is the comparatively late date of the adoption of some words, such as alignment, amateur, ameliorate, announcement, aristocrat, artistic(al, astronomic, avalanche, avid, carbon, caricature, carlovingian, confessional, confidant(e, connoisseur, costume, cutlet, etc., to mention only a few. One wonders how English could so long have dispensed with some of them.

Neither in the bibliography nor in the index is any mention made of Jules Derocquigny, who also did some work in this field (A Contribution to the Study of the French Element in English, Lille 1904), though its value is

disputed. (Anglia, Beiblatt 1906, 17er Jrg.)

We regret to say that this admirable work, which in so many respects is a model of its kind, was so badly got up that not an inch of thread or wire was used to bind it, so that on being cut it falls into parts.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

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1940

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Frederick T. Wood

Fantasy and Prophecy in E. M. Forster's Work

In 1927 E. M. Forster delivered the Clark lectures under the auspices of Trinity College, Cambridge, and published them in the same year under the title Aspects of the Novel. From the point of view of literary criticism his method of studying the art of the novel might be called "unscholarly" - as Forster, by confession, admits himself. But if in his study scholars miss the critical apparatus, a completeness of treatment and the rounding off of his subject, Forster's Aspects gains immensely in personal charm by the fineness of his sympathy, by his simplicity, by his wit and vigour, by his cleverness, and by the unexpectedness of his ways of looking at and judging the work of his fellow writers. Forster limits his subject to the discussion of seven "aspects". The Seven Principal Virtues a good novel should be able to boast of are: Story, People, Plot, Fantasy, Prophecy, Pattern, and Rhythm. Forster is, of course, quite convinced that one of the most fundamental Seven Pillars that carry the novel is the telling of a story - his novels prove that he is a master in this art - but he is a little disturbed by the necessity for a story, though he can see no way out of it: "The story ... is the highest factor common to all novels, and I wish that it was not so, that it could be something different - melody, or perception of the truth, not this low atavistic form" (Aspect, p. 41).

Here already Forster points to pillars that might be left out of consideration in the construction of an ordinary, a profane building; pillars, however, that are an indispensable element in the completion of a temple. One of them he calls "melody" or "rhythm" — Proust is mentioned as an excellent master of this art — the other "perception of truth", treated in chapters VI & VII as "Fantasy and Prophecy". Here, if anywhere, we may find the

key-note of Forster's work.

There is more in the novel than time or people or logic or any of their derivatives, more even than Fate. And by "more" I do not mean something that excludes these aspects nor something that includes them, embraces them. I mean something that cuts across them like a bar of light, that is intimately connected with them at one place and patiently illumines all their problems, and at another place shoots over or through them as if they did not exist. We shall give that bar of light two names, fantasy, and prophecy. (p. 140.)

This definition of Forster's favourite aspects is rather vague, fantastic even. We come nearer to his meaning when we bear in mind the examples

quoted by Forster.

David Garnett's Lady into Fox asks us to accept something that could not occur. So fantasy implies the supernatural. According to Forster it is often expressed by the introduction of gods, ghosts, angels, witches, midgets, and monsters into ordinary life, by the peeping in of fauns, fairies, dryads and other deities of the woods and fields; "or the introduction

of ordinary men into no man's land, the future, the past, the interior of the earth, the fourth dimension; or divings into and dividings of personality" (p. 147). But Tristram Shandy is sometimes called a fantastic book, though the supernatural is merely implied in a peculiar and strange attitude. So we see that fantasy is something extra, a mysterious sideshow inside the main show and its appeal is especially personal. Only a few writers introduce this new aspect into their novels: G. Meredith was somewhat fantastic, Charlotte Brontë occasionally, Max Beerbohm in Zuleika Dobson, Melville in Moby Dick, and Norman Matson in Flecker's Magic. All these authors Forster admires or loves. In an essay which answers the question: "What use is literature to-day" (published in 1934, reprinted in Abinger Harvest) he gives a characteristic list of authors who were his personal guides and who helped him during the first world war, part of which he spent in Egypt: Blake, W. Morris, the early T. S. Eliot, Huysmans, Yeats. "They took me into a country where the will is not everything, and the braying patriots of the moment, made no sound." It is the artificial paradise of Des Esseintes (Huysmans, A Rebours) Forster likes best, a world which lives for its sensations and has nothing tangible to offer.

Prophecy is intimately connected with Fantasy, but it is fantasy of a grander mythology, "it may imply any of the faiths that have haunted humanity — Christianity, Buddhism, dualism, Satanism, or the mere raising of human love and hatred to such a power that their normal receptacles no longer contain them." Moreover, prophetic fiction has a tendency to unity. But a prophet is not a preacher, he does not reflect on life and things. Therefore neither Hardy nor Conrad, who both have a philosophy of their own, illustrates Forster's conception of prophetic fiction. But D. H. Lawrence does, and Melville too. Wuthering Heights is filled with the sound of storm and rushing wind — a sound that is more important than words and thought. Love and liate transcend Heathcliffe and the elder Catherine. even when they are alive. The characters and situations in The Brothers Karamazov stand for more than themselves, "infinity attends them, though they remain individuals they expand to embrace it." So Dostoevsky's characters who are real and have relation to ordinary life and life in their own surroundings "ask us to share something deeper than their experiences"; they tend towards unity and reach back to something universal, to pity and love.

It will be our endeavour to show how Fantasy is conceived in Forster's own work; in what manner the prophetic 'bar of light' cuts across his writings, and what Forster's message is — if there is one.

The works referred to comprise some of his short stories, collected in two volumes (*The Celestial Omnibus*, 1911, and *The Eternal Moment*, 1928), some of his essays collected in 1936 (*Abinger Harvest*), and especially his novels, all richly packed with details and meanings. In order to get a solid basis for our discussion we are going to outline the five novels very briefly:

Where Angels Fear to Tread appeared in 1905 and clearly bears the impress of its time. The members of the Herriton family, above all Mrs. Herriton and her daughter Harriet, a Low Church fanatic, are the embodiment of Victorian respectability. Unfortunately Lilia,

the pretty, but vulgar thirty-three-year old widow of the family's eldest son, never learnt to settle down properly. She had a gift for taking absurd risks all her life, and so she went to Italy, chaperoned by the genteel Caroline Abbott, a girl of 23 and a friend of the Herritons. Soon Lilia falls in love with an Italian cad, called Gino; neither Caroline nor Philip, Lilia's brother-in-law, can prevent this rash and foolish marriage. After Lilia's sudden death in childbirth, Caroline, Philip and Harriet go to Italy to bring the baby back to England where he is to get properly educated. Gino refuses and convinces Philip and Caroline of his love for his little son. But Harriet, untouched by love, steals the baby. On the way to the station the carriage is overturned and the baby is killed.

The Longest Journey (1907) is full of autobiographical details. Richie Elliot, a delicate, amiable, and sensitive undergraduate of Cambridge, has lost a loving mother and a hateful father. In his eagerness for love he marries Agnes Pembroke, a stupid and dreadful woman. By his marriage he is drawn into the dreary and dull life of teaching at Sawston School (Forster was schooled at Tonbridge, the 'Sawston' of his first two novels). After some years of affliction and wretchedness Rickie is rescued from this darkness by his half-brother Stephen, who brings him down to Wiltshire into freedom; for

a moment only: Rickie meets with a fatal accident.

A Room with a View, published in 1908, was already drafted in 1903. Among a group of Englishmen at the Florentine Pension Bertolini, we notice above all Lucy, a charming but naive young girl, chaperoned by her unpleasant middle-aged cousin Charlotte; further we meet George, a grave and troubled young man, who falls in love with Lucy. But Charlotte succeeds in separating the two; she rushes Lucy back to England, where she soon becomes engaged to Cecil, the intellectual snob. But Lucy's instinctive soul saves her from a sham marriage. After having broken off her engagement, she finds her way

back to George and to real happiness.

Howards End (1910) is the name of a small farmhouse, the chief passion of Mrs. Wilcox. Here her ancestors have lived and worked for centuries, here she would like to live and die. But she is understood neither by her husband nor by her children, and so she leads rather a sad and lonely life. She has one friend though: Margaret Schlegel, who has ideals too, and who is full of generous humility. When Mrs. Wilcox dies, she leaves a note expressing her last wish that her beloved house should no to Margaret, who alone is able to appreciate its beauty. But the clear-headed Wilco. The not lose their business mind; they destroy the note and keep the house for themselves. But they cannot destroy Mrs. Wilcox's spirit, whose presence is still to be felt in every room at Howards End. At last her wish is fulfilled: the house comes to Margaret, who enters it as the second wife of Mr. Wilcox.

After an interval of 14 years, Forster produced his best known, and — up to the present moment — his last novel, A Passage to India (1924). The elderly Mrs. Moore chaperons Adela to India, where Mrs. Moore's son Ronny, Adela's fiancé, holds the post of a City Magistrate. They are both repulsed by Ronny's snobbish manner of insulting the natives. In a mosque Mrs. Moore meets Aziz, a young Moslem doctor; between the two a friend-ship develops. One day Aziz organizes a trip to the Marabar Hills. Adela, having entered a cave alone, feels somebody pull at her field-glasses. In a frenzy of hallucination she accuses Aziz of having attacked and insulted her. The English fall into a fit of hysteria, and Aziz is taken to prison. Only Mrs. Moore and Fielding, an English teacher, refuse to believe in Aziz's guilt. At the trial, where the obstinate antagonism between the English and the Indians is more and more kindled, Adela, realizing that Aziz is innocent, recants. The Indians triumph, the English are furious, above all Ronny, who seeds Adela back to England.

Fantasy

If, according to Forster, writers of a phantastic turn have often used the introduction of a god, a ghost, a midget or a fairy to express the supernatural, we need not go very far into Forster's work to discover where the wind blows from. Forster is a worshipper of Pan. For the grown-ups the

great God Pan is dead. By cutting down the forests and by converting trees into cash man has driven him from his shelters; by draining lakes and marshes and by banking up the seas he has compelled the Nereids to leave the waters and the Oreads to avoid the mountains. But Eustace, aged fourteen, the repellent boy who needs discipline so badly, meets Pan in the chestnut-woods above Ravello (*The Story of a Panic*). From that afternoon dates his queer behaviour: absurd worshipping of trees and flowers, saluting old and dirty Italian women, leaping into the arms of the poor, impertinent fisher-lad Gennaro, escaping in his nightshirt from his too small room, from which he cannot see anything, as he protests, no flowers, no leaves, no sky, only a stone wall.

Forster discovers Fauns not only in Greece or Italy, but in Wiltshire as well (The Curate's Friend). At a tea party on the hill the sudden apparition of the Faun startled the curate. For years the Faun had spoken only to children, who lost sight of him as soon as they grew up. But now the Faun has become the curate's friend, filling him with wonderful joy and happiness. In the eyes of the "others", this man scampering after sun-rays and staring into meaningless and empty space behaves of course rather foolishly. But a man who has become the friend of a Faun does not care when the girl he wanted to marry runs off with another.

The mystic waters of the Mediterranean and the mysterious Sicilian grottoes form the background of The Story of the Siren, a magic world, where only the fantastic is tolerable. Giuseppe, diving for money thrown into the water by some Englishmen, had seen the Siren. He became very queer — as did all those who saw either Pan or a faun. Giuseppe married Maria, a girl from Ragusa, who had also seen the Siren and had gone mad too. The end came when Maria was to have a child. A priest pushed her over a cliff into the sea because the whisper had started that the child would be Antichrist and would bring the Siren out of the sea to sing on the earth. As soon as she sang the Pope would die and the Church would be destroyed. The boy and the Siren would marry, and together they would rule the world for ever.

Though there are only a few short stories in which gods and ghosts play an active part in the development of the plot, they are often alluded to in the novels. Pan appears amongst the English excursion party at Florence (A Room with a View) and is to be found in England as well (The Longest Journey). The nymphs of Hertfordshire are mentioned (Howards End), and fauns and dryads live in the dell full of fir-trees near Cambridge (The Longest Journey). Yet, as Forster points out in his Aspects, the supernatural need not be expressed, but may be merely implied in a peculiar and strange attitude. And in this sphere not only the short stories, but all five novels as well, exhale a remarkable richness of a strange and mysterious atmosphere. This atmosphere is either expressed by the mysterious and supernatural influence through which nature and milieu act upon men or by the quaintness of certain characters.

The young Forster, down from Cambridge, followed a route so many

countrymen before him had already travelled: he resided in Italy "where the people ceased being ugly and drinking beer, and began instead to drink wine and to be beautiful" (Where Angels Fear to Tread, p. 161). Like so many of his countrymen who used to gather in the Piazza Santa Croce at Florence and bathe in the dazzling Italian sun during their Easter holidays, he fell in love with Italy. "It is a marvellous country", we hear him sing, "whether you love it or hate it."

What was so marvellous? — Its beauty, its mysterious beauty. Two sights especially fascinate him. First the great profusion of violets. There are such violets in England, but not so many. "The trees of the wood stood in violets as rocks stand in the summer sea" (Where Angels Fear to Tread, p. 38). When Lucy, the English girl, climbs a hill in search of Italy and of a view and the ground gives way, light and beauty envelop her, for "she had fallen on to a little terrace, which was covered with violets from end to end" (A Room with a View, p. 104). Secondly there are the "eternal" olives. Forster admires and paints them when they stand in the starlight or are draped with the monthly wash, when their hazy green rises up to the walls of Monteriano or when from the loggia he watches the vast slopes of olives. He is attracted by their beauty, because this beauty is at the same time mysterious. They are "like some fantastic ship city of a dream" (Where Angels, p. 43), their endless rows are "regular yet mysterious" (id. p. 34). Not only the landscape, but also towns and houses exhale this strange beauty. Florence is "a magic city where people thought and did the most extraordinary things" (Room with a View, p. 85). Being in Italy, and especially at Florence, we are not surprised that even the Piazza Signoria, which is "too stony to be brilliant", becomes enchanted under the author's hand: "Here, not only in the solitude of Nature, might a hero meet a goddess, or a heroine a god" (id. p. 87). In Where Angels Fear to Tread even the towers of Santa Deodata come to life. With their summit radiant in the sun and their base, pasted over with advertisements. in the shadow, they become the symbol of the town, of its people and of mankind.

In this spell-bound atmosphere two of Forster's early novels have grown. Though A Room with a View (1908) was preceded by The Longest Journey (1907), its whole conception quite evidently binds it to the author's first novel Where Angels Fear to Tread. We can imagine how people — English people — set against this background will act. For "Italy is only an euphuism (sic) for Fate"; it is a "country that has upset people from the beginning of the world." Supernatural forces overwhelm them; they are enveloped by light; they fall and wake up amid a flood of violets. Their peaceful rest is gone.

This enchanting landscape with its mystical atmosphere where fauns and dryads lurk behind the trees and flowers — unseen perhaps, but distinctly felt — and where, above all, we might be stimulated to discover our soul and to reach back to truth, is no singularity of Italy. Though Lucy (Room with a View) underwent the irresistible but ennobling influence of Italy, England

completes what the southern country has half awakened. There are still spots in England where the woods have a charm like that of Italy, where the hills stand out above the Weald "as Fiesole stands above the Tuscan Plain, and the South Downs, if one chose, were the mountains of Carrara" (p. 239). This glorious world of "water, sky, evergreens, and a wind" — eternal things that not even the seasons can touch — is not only to be found in Surrey and Sussex. In The Longest Journey Wiltshire, too, is full of mysterious scents; ghosts haunt the fields and one feels the presence of pagan gods. In Howards End the nymphs of Hertfordshire are invoked, and the song of England's beauty is sung from the Purbeck. Hills.

But the jewel of this England is Cambridge. Not only the surroundings, the dell where Rickie (Longest Journey) worships nature, beauty and truth, but even the town and the university quiver in enchanted air. Like Rickie, Forster had come there cold, friendless and ignorant and was soothed, warmed and changed by Cambridge. His gratitude for the magic beauty he was allowed to experience is expressed in Rickie's praise: "I pity people who don't go up to Cambridge: not because a university is smart, but because those are the magic years and — with luck — you see up there what you couldn't see before and mayn't ever see again" (p. 214).

In 1922 Forster set sail for India for the second time. We need scarcely be surprised that his tour, leading him first to Italy and then to Egypt, was finally continued in the easterly direction. An Englishman, in quest of felicity, of unknown and mysterious beauties, must needs find a passage to India. This journey was a fulfilment in more senses than one. The novel A Passage to India is Forster's last work of fiction. It is also his best. The story is told with greater mastery than the earlier novels, the flow of the sentences is smoother, the handling of the dialogue is more skilful and the thoughts Forster reveals are deeper. Is it surprising that the mystery very often only hinted at in the other novels, is even more mysterious in A Passage to India? The cruder kind of supernaturalism the coming and going of fairies, sirens, and gods - has given way to an almost impalpable mysticism, implied in the landscape, the animals, and the people. Every scene in A Passage to India is enveloped in and saturated with mystery. Like a gigantic, monstrous animal the mystery of India crouches in the background, influencing in an inscrutable way the daily life of men and women, their feeling and thinking.

Everything is mysterious in India. The trees exhale a strange sweetness, the moon—which in England seemed so dead and alien—has magic power. Through its influence Mrs. Moore is seized by a sudden sense of unity and kinship with the heavenly bodies. Mysterious are the mosques of Islam, the Hindu Temples, the festivals and ceremonies. We hear the drumming of Hindus, the wailing over a corpse, the cry of an owl. We are dazzled by the colours of the pageant, by brown bodies and white turbans. We are fascinated by the movement of the crowds in the bazaars and the bathers in the tanks. Mysterious are the fists and fingers of the Marabar Hills lurking in the distance; they are peopled with saints and

heroes and covered with flowers. "It is as if the surrounding plain or the passing birds have taken upon themselves to exclaim 'extraordinary', and the word has taken root in the air, and been inhaled by mankind" (p. 124). Everywhere India leaps to beauty, beckons and urges you to come. But come to what? She has never betrayed her secret, she has never defined it, for "she is not a promise, only an appeal." Nothing in India is identifiable, the mere asking of a question causes it to disappear or to merge into something else. A green bird with red bars on its wings dived into the dome of a tree. Is it a bee-eater, a parrot? It cannot be identified. An animal rushed into Ronny's car and caused an accident. Was it a hyena, a goat, a ghost? We shall never know. Adela Quested, desirous to see the real India. not only colour and movement but the spirit behind the veil, follows the appeal of the Caves in the Marabar Hills. But there she breaks down and in horror she rushes back to town, to be sheltered by English society, by English law and English customs. Had she been attacked by the guide or by Aziz, the Indian doctor? Had she been attacked at all? There will always be a heavy veil of mystery over her experience in the caves.

These few examples, taken almost at random, will sufficiently indicate what kind of atmosphere pervades A Passage to India. Here Forster has painted a background against which he was able to bring his definite liking for the fantastic and the mysterious to a full display and to show his remarkable mastery in rendering the mysterious. In this sense too, A Passage to India is a fulfilment.

As stated above (p. 100), the strange and mysterious atmosphere that is hinted at in the four earlier novels and is dominant in A Passage in India, is not only expressed by a more or less mysterious and fantastic background, but by the odd attitude of certain characters as well. There is, of course, always a group of persons that help to provide the local colour of their milieu and their country. They are always showily exhibited and have a hint of oddity about them.

There is the Italian Gino (Where Angels Fear to Tread) whose face expresses a strange mixture of avarice, insolence, politeness, stupidity, cunning, and love. He is, in the author's own words, "mysterious and terrible". There are the Indians: Dr. Aziz who has a capacity for getting into touch with the universe that is beyond the Anglo-Indians; his Mohamedan friends, Hamidullah and Mahmoud Ali, and the Hindu Godbole. All of them express oddities of the Oriental character, so attractive to the European mind by the mere fact that it is inscrutable and therefore mysterious.

But in addition to these characters, determined in their presentation by the very choice of the milieu, Forster has introduced English persons that stand distinctly apart by a veil of mysticism that conceals their real nature. There are above all Mrs. Wilcox (Howards End) and Mrs. Moore (A Passage to India). Both are mothers, two elderly ladies. Both remain always in the background, minor figures of the drama, where they never have, or wish to have, the chance of playing a dominating role. Yet the

reader cannot get rid of the feeling that they stand back in a passive attitude just because they are above the human comedy. With knowing eyes, like gods, they watch the stream of life flow past them, a few remarks uttered now and then merely deepen the mystery that envelops them. What does Mrs. Moore know of the strange happenings in the Marabar Hills? What does she know of the real India? of love, of life? We never get an answer. We just feel and are convinced of having met a person who knows more of life, and understands it better, than ordinary people. As mysteriously as Mrs. Moore is kept in the background, so mysteriously she joins the dead on her way back to England. "A ghost followed the ship up the Red Sea, but failed to enter the Mediterranean. Somewhere about Suez there is always a social change: the arrangements of Asia weaken and those of Europe begin to be felt, and during the transition Mrs. Moore was shaken off" (p. 257). But in Chandrapore she becomes the legendary Esmiss Esmoor, signs of the beginning of a cult are noticed. Her magic name, spoken in court, is sufficient to soften Aziz's decision to take revenge on Adele and the English for the wrongs and the insults received.

And there is Mrs. Wilcox. We see her trailing noiselessly over the lawn at Howards End, her home. She will always impress us as a shadowy, unreal woman; Forster has not succeeded in shaping her character — if ever he wanted to do so. For she is more a spirit than a body, she is "nearer the line that divides daily life from a life that may be of a greater importance" (p. 73). It is this border line that is so attractive to Forster. People who move there must always be out of focus with daily life; they cannot take a real shape. Like Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Wilcox is misunderstood by her family, never looked on as important enough to stop and watch. Yet people who, even if only slightly, come into touch with her are conscious of a great personality that transcends their own. As she had lived, so she died, "with a touch of mystery" (p. 87). Like the late Mrs. Moore who never left India, Mrs. Wilcox's spirit will never leave Howards End. For her house she sought a spiritual heir. She found her in Margaret, her husband's future wife. What did Mrs. Wilcox know of love, of life? We feel she knew more than Forster could have made her tell, and so we shall never know.

There is no need to go into further details regarding the persons with this touch of the inexplicable about them. We shall meet most of them in the following chapter, for prophecy can never be neatly separated from the mysterious.

Prophecy

Prophetic fiction, Forster tells us, has a tendency to unity; characters and situations stand for more than themselves. The individuals pass their natural limits and point to something universal. To be called "great" a novel ought to have, beneath its surface, a universal theme; only then has the whole work its bases, its direction, its real meaning and its greatness.

In Forster's work we may without either artifice or difficulty discover a common undercurrent, often rising to the surface in the earlier novels; hidden in darker and more mysterious depths, yet still to be felt, in the two latest

novels. Even a quick glance will show what he is aiming at.

In Where Angels Fear to Tread Forster exposes several persons to the spell of Italy. All of them, though quite different in their characteristics, have one thing in common: they live in Sawston, where everyone says the proper thing at the proper moment. Sawston is the home of respectable Mrs. Herriton, who believes neither in romance, nor in transfiguration, "nor in anything else that might disturb domestic life", and of her respectable daughter Harriet, who is pious and acrid and patriotic and therefore a great moral asset, not only for the house but for the whole place. So it is quite natural that Lilia, Harriet's sister-in-law, should feel cooped up in the Sawstonian atmosphere. After a long bondage she ran off to Monteriano, leaving behind an only daughter and bewildered relations.

Once metamorphosed by the glamour of Italy, she fell in love with Gino, an Italian cad, ten years her junior, who had neither money nor manners but good looks and charm. In her first enthusiasm Lilia renounced everything that reminded her of the dullness and stupidity of Sawston society: her ten-year-old daughter, her friends and relatives, her religion — she joined the Catholic Church — and all the little comforts and luxuries of civilised life. But Italy proved to be too dangerous for Lilia. She began to feel abandoned and hurt after she discovered her husband's unfaithfulness. So Italy broke her completely. We shall never forget her last ten minutes' walk, a lovely but pathetic walk on a warm Italian summer night, a lonely and peaceful walk, past the great cypress to the Siena gate from which the road led back to England — to Sawston. But now she was too tired to stand up for a second time against the barriers of convention. Slowly she crept back into captivity, and, giving birth to a child, she died.

More than mere personalities are engaged in this struggle. In one of his clever and often original asides Forster himself points to the problem he has in mind. "The struggle was national; generations of ancestors, good, bad or indifferent, forbad the Latin man to be chivalrous to the northern woman, the northern woman to forgive the Latin man" (p. 110). So Forster's "prophetic gifts" seem to be limited to the display of the fateful gulf between North and South, and of the clash between two different sets of tradition in the fight between the northern temper of an overcivilized Englishwoman and the natural southern impulsiveness of an Italian. This "national" problem is certainly expounded in this novel as well as in A Room with a View, and finally, as we shall see later on, in a different setting of course, in A Passage to India. Yet this somewhat narrow national idea expands into a more universal and therefore human theme, a theme that is predominant in all five novels. We may best expl in it by analysing another character of Where Angels Fear to Tread.

Caroline Abbot, who accompanied her friend Lilia to Italy, had grown up in the typical Sawston atmosphere. She was good, quiet, dull and

amiable, always busy about some respectable charity and young only - to talk in Forster's manner — because she was twenty-three. In Italy, waking up to beauty and splendour, she saw Sawstonian life from a distance, saw its dullness, mediocrity, stupidity and the spitefulness of its society. Intoxicated with rebellion, she wanted to fight against all these things she was beginning to hate. But back at Sawston again she realized that they were invincible, that they had broken Lilia and would break her too if she chose to run against them. Her second flying visit to Italy should have been a commercial transaction only: paying money to Gino and rescuing Lilia's baby from his sinful hands. For Caroline was filled with remorse. It was she who had chaperoned Lilia to Italy and had urged her to escape Sawston society for ever. So she felt it to be her duty to save at least the child and bring him to England to be properly reared. In order not to be influenced by the magic of the encircling Italian air, we see her shutting the window of her room. But she could not help being bathed again in beauty, and feeling free and happy. For the second time she lost her head. She had come on business, but she forgot all about it. She had come to fight for the morality, purity, and holiness of an English Victorian home. But watching Gino's love for Baby, "the horrible truth, that wicked people are capable of love stood naked before her ... She was in presence of something greater than right or wrong" (p. 234/35). She was in the presence of reality, of elemental love, of truth, of eternal beauty.

Here we perceive and seize for a moment that "bar of light" that cuts across Forster's novels. "Right or Wrong" are notions on which people at Sawston live and thrive. Their world consists of principles which are only words, and these mere words, having become their maxim of conduct, drive them to make sacrifices for neighbours they do not love, and to please persons they do not care for. Sawstonians can never be sincere and true (the fact that Lilia has got a baby is to be hushed up), they are never honest (Harriet steals Gino's baby); they always wear a mask. They cannot enjoy life but — like Caroline in Italy — suppress happiness, knowing it to be sinful (p. 213). This is a world of imposture, of unreality, of hollow show. Against this world of humbug Forster, like so many others, has set out to fight. Like Meredith, whom he mentions more than once, he employs the search-light of the comic muse to light up the weakness of mankind. He is always bent on opposing the good to the respectable, the beautiful to the pretty, the true to the adequate, reality to sham.

In A Room with a View these two opposite groups again stand out distinctly. The narrowness and superficiality of the English tourist is felt at the Italian pension where the Sawston atmosphere is preserved by the portrait of the Queen and a notice of the English Church. The world of humbug is embodied in the elderly Charlotte who chaperoned her cousin Lucy to Italy. Like Harriet she is acrid and indissoluble, untouched by the beauty and mystery of Italy, and like Caroline, but more successfully, she fastens the window-shutters and locks the door of her room. The other group is represented by Mr. Beebe, who is tolerant, full of sympathy and

has a sense of humour, and by Emmerson and his son George, who has been brought up free from superstitions and ignorance. These two lack "chivalry", of course; they call a spade a spade and the Queen "a woman", and — in the presence of ladies! — talk even of "stomach-acidity".

Between these two opposite poles, attracted by the one and held back by the other, Lucy is balanced. Like Caroline she is young and of a rebellious spirit. Annoyed by the state of dependence in which she lives and by the restrictions imposed on her by her education, and closely guarded as she is by Charlotte (in the diary of Mr. Beebe, Lucy is drawn as a kite with Charlotte holding the string), she yearns for change. One door leading from stability to the sphere of movement had been open to her though: her music. She plays Beethoven disturbingly well, and dwelling among melodies she feels quite another being. Now her well-known stable world had suddenly been broken up, and the sight of Florence, "the magic city", helped her to cross some spiritual boundary. "Italy was offering her the most priceless of all possessions — her own soul" (p. 170). Though Charlotte succeeded once more in shutting the gates of liberty (she rushed her friend away from George and Italy), Lucy, after having been untrue to her own self and after having sinned against passion and truth, finds her fulfilment

in her love for George.

The Longest Journey comprises three parts: Cambridge, Sawston, Wiltshire. It is a long journey from Cambridge to Wiltshire, for Rickie Elliot, the shy student, who has a literary talent and a love of the beautiful, has to pass through Sawston. And Sawston, as we have seen before, is a symbol for a world where one does not move but stays, where one does not sing but works. It is the world of Bertie Pembroke, head of the important Sawston school. Every year he grows more moral, more learned and more efficient. He is all organisation; he organises the school, the day boys, their work and their diet. He does not see that he offers them "sham food, sham religion and sham talks" (p. 356). As he is never wrong, he cannot tolerate criticism, but considers it rudeness. Into this milieu Rickie is dragged by his love for Mr. Pembroke's sister Agnes. He believes to have found in her the incarnation of his ideals, and does not perceive that her passion burns for Gerald, the stupid and athletic footballer, the very opposite of Rickie. Yet Gerald dies suddenly; Agnes marries the weak and tender lover, and succeeds in dominating and corrupting him almost completely. At Cambridge Rickie had read Theocritus, Omar Khayyam, Keats and, above all, Shelley; his thoughts were bent on art, and he looked at Agnes with "the eyes of Blake". He has no knowledge of the world, no experience, and he blesses Agnes who has come to change him. Once - in Cambridge - he felt love and kindness for everybody; now - in Sawston — he thinks there are many people who do not matter. He is going to forsake the Shelley he once so much loved and followed. Denying the life and thought of Cambridge, he becomes part of the beneficent Sawstonian machine. Agnes and the time-table begin to reign. There is no possible escape; not even at Easter can he find time to go to Italy to

fulfil his most impetuous desire. Agnes laughs at his short stories in which he tries to treat the supernatural and the mysterious. "How could Rickie, or any one, make a living by pretending that Greek Gods were alive, or that young ladies could vanish into trees?" (p. 191). In order to 'make a living' Agnes sends her husband to the editor in a boiled shirt, and we hear her shouting after him that his tie was rising over the collar. The shadows of unreality and make-believe descend on Rickie and envelop him more and more. Even Stuart Ansell, his closest friend, is unable to bear Rickie's deterioration any longer and turns from him.

By chance release comes and the journey goes on to the Failing estate in Wiltshire, where Rickie's aunt, Mrs. Failing, shelters Stephen Wonham, who turns out to be Rickie's half-brother. If Wiltshire has many traits in common with Italy, Stephen can easily be compared wit Gino (Where Angels Fear to Tread). Stephen too is simple and frank, and he has the face of a strong man. "He was the child of poetry and rebellion, and poetry should run in his veins" (p. 301). It is Stephen who drags Rickie away from Agnes and Sawston down to Wiltshire, i.e. to truth, reality and beauty. In Rickie's eyes, Stephen becomes a hero, who alone will be able to fight successfully against the Pembrokes who try to rule our world. He feels it worth while to sacrifice everything for such a man. The opportunity comes soon. One evening, finding his drunken brother lying on the rails as the train approaches, Rickie manages to drag him back in time. But Rickie does not try very hard to save also himself. He is too tired to struggle against the shadows of Sawston, still creeping after him. Severely injured by the express, he dies soon. He has languished like Alastor, of whom Shelley, Rickie's favourite author, says in the Preface: "'Alastor' ... represents a youth of uncorrupted feelings and adventurous genius led forth by an imagination inflamed and purified through familiarity with all that is excellent and majestic, to the contemplation of the universe. He drinks deep of the fountains of knowledge, and is still insatiate ... [He] thirsts for intercourse with an intelligence similar to [himself]." But in vain. "Blasted by his disappointment, he descends to an untimely grave."

In Howards Find the two sets of people representing the two different worlds are not so neatly grouped nor so sharply separated as in the preceding three novels. We cannot point to some members of the Wilcox family and say: Here all is sham, unreality, hypocrisy and darkness. Undoubtedly Henry Wilcox, the rich businessman, is narrow-minded, stupid, cruel and, what is typical of this set of people, he is hypocritical. Under the mask of respectability he carefully hides the chaos of his inner life. As his wife never discovered his relation to a mistress, it would never occur to him that he had betrayed and insulted her. Yet he is quite shocked when he hears of his second wife's lover. But there is quite another side to his character. He is quite capable of kindness and good fellowship. His sense of duty and his loyalty to his family are beyond doubt. But he is unable to connect these two worlds in him. He keeps sentiment, religion,

kindness in a separate drawer and never allows them to get mixed with

the contents of drawers labelled 'work', 'duty', 'organisation'.

In contrast and in conflict with this family live the two sisters Helen and Margaret Schlegel, also belonging to the wealthy middle class. But they are intellectuals, they are cultivated, lovers of art and music. Actresses and unshaven musicians are among their acquaintances. They are great talkers about the ethics of life and the salvation of the poor; they are searchers for truth and very much interested in the subconscious self. have built up something real", says Helen, "because it is purely spiritual" (p. 192). For her, unreality begins as soon as she is concerned with the body. But Margaret felt that this kind of life was unreal. She felt that there was an outer life she had never touched, "a life in which telegrams and anger count" (p. 25). And this outer life, though obviously horrid, often seemed the real one. Therefore, when she met the Wilcoxes she could not but admire their practical sense, their organising ability. She was fascinated by their power of quick decision and convinced that "if the Wilcoxes hadn't worked and died in England for thousands of years ... there would be no trains, no ships to carry literary people about in, no fields even. Just savagery" (p. 171/72). She tried to connect and reconcile her world with the newly discovered one, and symbolically, but not at all convincingly, she married Henry Wilcox.

We meet the Sawston atmosphere again in A Passage to India. At the English club of Chandrapore the women especially were brainless and superficial and overflowing with pseudo-heartiness. Mrs. Blakiston is generally snubbed because she is only the wife of a small railway official; the unconventional frankness of speech of Mr. Fielding, a warm-hearted schoolmaster, was never well received. His personality and his ideas were contrary to convention and to caste feeling. He was looked upon as a disruptive force, as not "pukka". But snobbery did not find expression only among the English. The gulf was especially wide between the two races. The members of the English colony posed as gods, and felt themselves superior to every native of India. As their religion was "sterilized Public School brand", their only link with Indians was the official one; as private individuals the "wicked niggers" did not exist. Orders from higher quarters and not their hearts' desire made them arrange parties to which Indians had to be invited. But these "Bridge Parties" so called because they should be the means to bridge the gulf between East and West - were mere mockery. The English held sternly aloof and never talked with their Indian guests; the necessary greetings and introductions were cold and official. The self-complacency, censoriousness and lack of subtlety of Mr. Heaslop, the City Magistrate, destroyed all contact from the very beginning of the party.

There is no doubt that Forster's dazzling performance points to the open wounds he had discovered in the relationship between English and Indians. This theme, therefore, is dominant in A Passage to India. Yet even here the well-known under-currents of his earlier work flow abundantly — it

could not be otherwise. Once more Forster has set a world of sham against a world of truth. As we have seen, the world of sham is well represented by the English club. It is more difficult to people the world of truth. Mrs. Moore belongs to it, but she is too unreal in her mysterious appearances to be convincing. Fielding, the warm-hearted, unconventional, and therefore unwise, schoolmaster, who really tried to come to an understanding with his English brethren, had to resign from the slub as soon as he sided with his Indian friend. Dr. Aziz, who had been unfairly imprisoned by English "justice". In spite of his good-will and warm-heartedness Fielding felt the impossibility of becoming intimate with Aziz. He might have offered kindness, but that apparently was not all that queer nation wanted and needed He could not help perceiving the hypocrisy and conventionality of the East as well. Even Aziz, who had tried hard to overcome the feeling of mistrust, knew at the bottom of his heart that the English could not change their skins and would always remain cold and odd. belief could in his mind exist side by side" (p. 280/81). Fielding's endeavour to establish an understanding between East and West was doomed to fail completely - he went to England. When, after two years' absence, he returned to India, he definitely stood on this side of the gulf. Already before he had been rehabilitated by the club, which, of course, had not changed, though the members had, he had become an Anglo-Indian, with at least some of their limitations. Looking at Aziz, he was surprised at his past heroism. Wasn't it strange, after all, that he had defied all his own people for the sake of this stray Indian?

Not only in his fiction, but also in his essays, reviews and articles, now neatly grouped and ready at hand in Abinger Harvest, Forster pursued his serious criticism of a few of the aims and diversions of English life. He found that not even the catastrophe of 1914-18 was able to destroy that atmosphere in which Sawstonians thrive so well. So he thinks it his duty to go on unmasking and fighting the world of sham. There are for instance his ideas on Sargent's masterpiece "Gassed" exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1925 (Me, Them and You, p. 27). With disgust Forster sees golden haired Apollos with bandages over their eyes — they have been blinded by mustard gas — move along or sit peacefully in the foreground. But no one complains, no one looks lousy or overtired; even the battlefield, though sad, is rather tidy. Overhead, aeroplanes strike the necessary note of England's majesty. "How touching", was the remark Forster could hear, instead of "How obscene". "It was all that a great war picture should be, and it was modern because it managed to tell a new sort of lie" (p. 29). So Forster still meets the old world of sham. The truth about the real misery and sufferings of these men in khaki, and of thousands of old men and women and dirty babies, has to be hushed up. Bitter words about heroes and hero-worship are heard from two graves looking out across the Dardanelles (Our Graves in Gallipoli), and in A Voter's Dilemma the insincerity of party programmes and their compilers is unmasked: Be they left or right. they sit in the same old boat, rowing it the same old way.

The way of blood and fire and tears And pestilence and profiteers.

* * *

But Forster's criticisms do not stagnate in mere negation. There is another side to the "sinister corridor" of our life. There is still hope: "The misery goes on, the feeble impulses of good return to the sender, and far away from the snobbery and glitter in which our souls and bodies have been entangled, is forged the instrument of the new dawn" (p. 30). In Notes on the English Character Forster characterizes the English as essentially middle class: solidity, caution, integrity, efficiency, lack of imagination, hypocrisy; well-developed bodies and undeveloped hearts - but not cold hearts. And that is essential. There are hidden springs of emotion further down, there is a desire for loveliness, a belief in beauty, love, thought, art and truth. This message seems to be symbolically expressed in the short story The Other Side of the Hedge. In it Forster shows that humanity, overcome by the desire to walk, has a general tendency to advance, to progress towards an unknown goal. The road on which mankind travels and runs and struggles is Justy, wearisome, monotonous, endless. There seems to be no time to sit down at the roadside to rest in the shadow of the brown crackling hedge and to think or to sing and to be happy and content. For there are always "the others" who have to be overtaken, outstripped and outwitted. Suddenly we catch sight of a tired wanderer, lying exhausted at the roadside, on the point of giving up this vain struggle. Yet just at this moment he feels a reviving puff of air coming from the hedge. He yields to the temptation and in spite of the thorns that scratch his face and scrape his clothes off him, he pushes through to the other side of the hedge. And o wonder! Never had he seen a space so large, a sky so blue, and grass so green. In this peaceful country men and women have time to sing and to walk in a leisurely manner. Here the laws of science do not work. The roads lead nowhere, there is no goal to be reached, there is no struggle to outdistance the others as there are no 'others'. There is, therefore, no defeat and no victory, no failure and no hatred. Just love, and beauty, and truth.

Other short stories in which we find the same hint of the fantastically supernatural evince Forster's endeavour to show that there is another side to the hedge running along the wearisome road of life. The characters he likes are uneasy in their surroundings. They cannot tolerate self-complacency. They want fresh air and prefer passion to stability, truth to comfort. They strive incessantly to find and see — in Italy or in Wiltshire. in Greece or in India — what Forster was lucky enough to discover in Cambridge. But this struggle is not easy. As we have seen, the hedge is thick and thorny. We have to be very energetic to push through, and we have to give up our worldly wisdom we badly need in our rush on the road. There are many who fail. Mr. Lucas in The Road from Colonus, for instance. He had been caught by the fever of Hellenism, and all his life he

had felt that, could he but visit that country, he would not have lived in vain. His dream is finally realized, and though he finds Athens dusty and Delphi wet, he by chance discovers a corner where a magic scent surrounds him. As his family had no perception of the coherent beauty that was flowering around him, and as he was himself too weak to resist the call of his kin, he was taken back to his dull routine work in London again. Among many other characters we may remember Lilia who was too superficial to try to grasp the mystery of the South and to realize that her sentimental love had not the greatness and eternity of truth in it; that, in reality, she neither cared for love nor for Italy, but only for change. Her love was therefore barren and doomed to end in disappointment.

Though none of Forster's characters achieves complete success, they all share and try to live up to Rickie's opinion: "There are two great things in life that we ought to aim at — truth and kindness. Let's have both if we can, but let's be sure of having one or the other" (Longest Journey, p. 155). Already in their incessant endeavour to succeed they find happiness and satisfaction.

We have to bear in mind that Forster's novels are not ready-made stuff. He is not always easy to understand. As we have seen, the author belongs to the dubious race of crooked people who, instead of looking reality straight in the face, turn their heads sideways in order to peep at the other side of the hedge and claim to catch glimpses of something beautiful and true, and to hint at strange, elusive, and impalpable things that happen in this borderland. Yet though Forster has the power of fancy and the faculty to suggest the hidden workings of the soul, he never loses touch with earth. He belongs as much to the imagination as to the actual. He starts from reality, he sticks to earth and never abandons the realism of his method. His detailed descriptions are graphic, his vivid dialogues lifelike. Whenever possible he digs deep, beneath the surface of the incidents and events of everyday life, and seeks to express the infinite. It is his love of the narrow, strange, and thorny passages, his fascinating manipulation of the 'fantasticprophetical' bar of light showing through that gap of the hedge that give his books so grave and peculiar a charm. What he says of T. S. Eliot (Abinger Harvest, p. 89) applies to his own work as well: "There is abundance of beauty and even of amusement awaiting us, there is all the treasure of a richly stored and active mind, but we are expected to do our share."

Aarau, Switzerland.

W. GILOMEN.

Notes and News

Antiquarians at Work

William Fleetwood's Itinerarium ad Windsor is one of the lesser known treatises of the sixteenth century. In its way it is an interesting little document, providing, apart from a certain amount of antiquarian information, a picture of the manners of the time. Perhaps the fact that the Itinerarium is reported as imperfect in the Dictionary of National Biography has deterred readers. This description applies to a copy in the British Museum which I have not seen. But there is also a copy in the Bodleian Library (MS. Tanner 84, fol. 201 ff.) which appears to be complete. From it the extracts in this article are taken, slightly repunctuated and with expansion of the few abbreviations. The opening passage is striking enough and will bear quoting:

In the moneth of Nisann in the seauententh yeare of the most happie raigne of the vertuous and most noble Lady Queene Elizabeth, the right honorable Robert Earle of Leicester, being constable of Windsore castle, and cheife forester of the forest therevnto appendant (being with diuers noble knights and other gentlemen, aswell Courtiers as of the Countrie accompanied) did take his iournie from his Lordships house, situated neere the barrs of the new Temple in London, towards Windsor castle: amongst which assembly the right honorable Baron Thomas Lord Buckhurst was present: And I William Fleetwood reporter hereof, being Recorder of London, was by the comandment of the said Earle of Leicester there also attendant, for the better service of the Queene in matters that were to be debated within the honour and forest of Windsor aforesaid.

The date of the journey is therefore 1575, in the month of March. Fleet-wood describes it with characteristic pedantry as Nisan, a piece of Hebrew learning evidently precious to him, and repeated later on. The other persons concerned, Leicester and Buckhurst, are here as might be expected on the best of terms, for more than ten years were to elapse before they quarrelled so bitterly over the Dutch negotiations. Lord Buckhurst is perhaps better known as Thomas Sackville, the poet, but here he appears in a different quality. The manuscript continues:

And as the said Earle in his Iourney was vpon the new Cawsey ouer against her majesties house, called St. James parke, he espied, euen fast by the very walls of the same house, two ryding alone, noe creature either ryding or goeing before or after them: and being desirous to knowe who they were, noe man knewe, vntill Mr. John Dudley and his brother told the said Earle, that it was the Lord Buckhurst and the Recorder of London. Nay, quoth the Earle, it cannot be they, for here be there men. Yeas, quoth Mr. John Dudley, my Lord it is their condition to seperate themselues from all company when they ride into the Countrie, and then their manner is to vse arguments of rare and very strainge things, sometimes of parliament matters, sometimes of Chronicles and histories, but cheifely of the antiquities of this realme of England, for they be both marveilously giuen to antiquaries. Then quoth the Earle: What meane yow by that terme Antiquaries? Marry, quoth, Mr. John Dudley, they cann tell your Lordship how that the territories betwene the Temple barr and Ivie bridge was in the Saxons times known and called by the name of Vauasorian, and that Guen was the Vauasor and Lord of the same: And they cann tell yow the Danes being driuen out of this Realme, and yet such as were naturalized partly

by birth, for that they were children of English woemen, but cheifely by the benefitt of the noble king Ethelbert, was allowed them that place to inhabit in, where they builded a church in the honour of St. Clement the Patron of the Danes; and therof it is called euen vnto this day St. Clement Danes. They can declare the first foundation and founders of St. Spicetts chappell, and what maruells and strainge things there hapned in that place. They are able to disclose how the Sauoy first had that name, and of the Escheate of the same to the crowne, and of the granting therof to Crochback the Earle of Lancaster. And as for the antiquitie of Thorney Rounsivalls, Charing crosse, St. James, the scite of which St. James was first made an hospitall and annexed to a Monastery in Normandy, and so being the Lands of Prior Aliens was given vnto the Crowne by parliament in the second of Henry the fifte, and by Kinge Henry the sixt given to Eaton colledge for thaduancement of Learninge, and bringing vp of youth, and in the time of King Henry the eight Cromwell, then Earle of Essex, obtained a longe lease therof, and there began to build, and by his attainder it came to the hands of Henry the eight in which place as your Lordship may see, is builder (sic) a most princely and stately Pallace for the Kings of this realme. Then quoth the Earle: surely these be strange things that yow speake of, but can they discourse in such sort of all other places within this realme? Mr. John Dudley answered that he thought verily they could. Then quoth the Earle to Mr. Thomas Dudley: I pray yow when my Lord of Buckhurst and Mr. recorder come against the Parke corner, tell them that I would speake with them.

No wonder that Leicester was impressed by the repute of so much learning. One may question, however, whether all these details were put forward in the conversation as it actually took place. There is no reason to suspect that the whole account is fictitious. In the first place that would have been an unprecedented licence on Fleetwood's part, especially as Leicester and Buckhurst are later introduced as speaking characters. Secondly, the story rings true, and one cannot help feeling that the crude characterization of the piece is the natural result of reported conversation, and far beyond the aims and abilities of the author. But Fleetwood was not present at the introductory conversation and it seems likely that this part of his story gained detail in the retelling.

We may be thankful for this; personally I should gladly exchange the whole of the ensuing debate for a little more of the introduction. As it is we find in it not only support for Strype's statement as to Fleetwood's findings, but a much more complete story of St. Clement Danes. (Compare B. Wheatley and P. Cunningham, London Past and Present, vol. I, p. 412.) Besides there is some interesting information about St. James's Palace.

As Recorder of London, Fleetwood must have had access to a great deal of evidence since lost, and apparently he got his facts from genuine old sources. Later on (fol. 210 verso) Leicester more or less jokingly asks Fleetwood about the Council of Winchester:

Can yow show the said iudgement at the full as it was giuen, or did yow take theffect thereof out of the same Chronicle?

The Recorder answers:

I have the judgement sett downe at large, written in an antient hand, in a saxon character above 400: yeares agoe; the copie wherof I meane to deliver to your good Lordship at my returne to London, (fol. 210 verso.)

As already implied, the story becomes less interesting after the introductory part, which forms roughly one-seventh of the whole composition. Leicester engages Fleetwood and Buckhurst in conversation and there ensues a semi-legal debate. The question proposed is how the Queen can execute all prerogatives when these are given "by the speciall name of kings". Immediately Buckhurst begins to hold forth on the twelve kinds of law in existence. There is a quickening of interest when we come to the last of these, for Buckhurst knows that:

There is a booke wherin the especiall Lawes of the Crowne were written, the which booke did remaine allwaies in the Custody of the Lord Cheife iustice of England. For it is his office to answere all doubts and questions that concerne the Lawe of the Crowne. This booke, as I have hard Sir Richard Sackuile, my father say, that it was not permitted to come to the hands of Sir Richard Lystar, or of Sir Roger Cholmeley; he thought that if the late Earle of Southampton (who sometime was Lord Chancellor of England) were liveing, that he could make an accompt what is become of that booke. (fol. 207.)

"Infinitae sunt legum species" is Leicester's reaction, but Fleetwood now approaches the matter from a different angle. After due excuses for his feeble wit he draws attention to "this old saxon word yning (sic), which doth signifie a Cunninge, a wise, a vertous, a pollitique, and a prudent person". Of this the word Queen is a variation, "referring the same to the femall sex." (fol. 207 verso.) In the course of the debate there are a few less guarded compliments to the Queen. Fleetwood also tells a story about Queen Mary and the succession, in connection with Gardiner and the parliament, but this is not very clearly told, so that I must leave to a historian the pleasure of finding out what it means.

Chiefly, however, the debate centres round precedents. It is interesting to see Cordeila introduced as an instance of inheritance of the Crown in the female line, "before the Incarnation of Christ 805: yeares, euen at that time that the good king Ozias did repaire the cittie of Jerusalem, which was in the yeare of the world 3358:" These facts Fleetwood apparently took from Cooper's Chronicle, which has these events on one page, though the year of the world is there 3158. Of course we know that the story of Leir was a matter of common knowledge in the sixteenth century. Here we have a nice illustration of the fact, although these antiquaries undoubtedly knew their chronicles better than most people.

As a piece of writing the *Itinerarium* is not remarkable, but, as argued before, the involuntary characterization has its merits. Buckhurst is the cautious lawyer who sticks to his precedent. Leicester treats the whole thing as a passtime. The only one who is in deadly earnest throughout is Fleetwood himself. In fact one sometimes gets the impression that Buckhurst and Leicester were leading him on, and between them had their own fun, entirely unsuspected by the Recorder. Fleetwood shows himself as rather pedantic and self-centred. After reading his Itinerary one can guess why he was not destined for higher preferment.

To the literary historian the most important lesson of this debate lies

in the spirit in which the antiquarianism is carried out. There is admittedly a striving for causal connection and a certain tidiness that is not medieval. Yet to approach the treatise in a modern spirit is impossible. The core of the question proposed, and the way in which the debate is conducted as it inevitably winds its way to the theory of the "body natural" and the "body pollitique", hold very little promise of the outlook of the seventeenth century or even of Bacon. It is typical of the mode of thought as well as of the manners of its age. Once again we are reminded that in the sixteenth century the inquisitive spirit was still firmly embedded in tradition. Under this body of set attitudes the spirit of truth, as we understand it, stirred very slowly indeed.

Groningen.

J. SWART.

The Tempo of Shakespeare's Speech

This study is something hypothetical; but whatever throws light on the person of William Shakespeare or on the performance of his Plays is worthy of consideration. In an earlier paper, the present writer, from a study of the slurrings required by the verse and from other evidence,1 suggested that Shakespeare adapted the tempo of the later rôles of Thomas Pope to the jerky, breathless delivery that his growing dropsy ferced upon him; and, if the playwright did so in the case of Pope, might he not adapt the parts that he wrote for himself to his own habits of speech? The usual tempo of Shakespeare's plays — and apparently of all Elizabethan drama - was distinctly fast: Hamlet advises the players to speak "trippingly on the tongue"; Romeo and Juliet is called "two hours' traffic of our stage"; stenographers, intent on stealing the text for pirated editions, made countless blunders in their transcripts; and the small size of the theatres, with stages that placed the actors out in the midst of the auditorium, made possible great rapidity of speech. The studies of the present writer in several plays bear out this supposition: The Merchant of Venices for example, yields about three items of evidence for fast delivery for every one of slow; and Othello, three or four. Of course, some types of evidence are stronger than others: but a rough diagram can be made of any given passage: if F stands for an item that shows rapidity, and S for slowness, and if one vertical stroke stands for a line that shows no evidence and two for two or more such lines, then the Ghost's speech of nine verses in Hamlet (I, v, 31 et seq.) that begins, "I find thee apt ..." would diagram as F|FF|SF||. Evidence of speed appears in "shouldst", "Wouldst", "'Tis" and "abused", which the meter

¹ See the present writer, "The Tempo of Shylock's Speech' J. E. G. P., XLIV, 281 et sen.

requires one to say in two syllables and not in three, as the Elizabethans sometimes said. The one evidence of slow tempo is "forged", in which the meter requires that the -ed be spoken separately. Apparently, therefore, the whole speech is fast except for the "forged process of my death"; and, since the correction of this false report is the whole point of the Ghost's appearance, one might properly ascribe this slower tempo to the need for emphasis. The human voice can stress a word or a phrase by any one of three types of variation: mere volume of sound - the shout or the whisper — a somewhat obvious effect that Shakespeare deprecates in Hamlet; change of intonation, especially the circumflex of surprise or irony; and change in tempo, used most extremely in the abrupt pause of aposiopesis. The first method is often too obvious to be artistic; the second is somewhat limited in application; the third, therefore, should be the commonest means of vocal emphasis; and a study of it in the parts that Shakespeare wrote for himself should not only assist in the appreciation of the lines but also show something of Shakespeare's own habits of speech.

Tradition has long ascribed the parts of Adam in As You Like It and the Ghost in Hamlet to Shakespeare as an actor. The sixty-six lines spoken by Adam seem to have been written for rendition in a tempo far slower than the average of Shakespearean drama. His three short speeches in the first scene are all prose; but what evidence there is suggests deliberation: the first speech has "yonder" rather than the shorter "yond"; the second has combinations of consonants that would be hard to enunciate rapidly; and the third has the full forms, "I have" and "I would". Adam's two short speeches in II, vi and vii, when he is dying of hunger, certainly give no proof of tripping tempo. Most of the positive evidence is in the four speeches in II, iii, in which he warns Orlando against Oliver. The following fourteen lines contain eight evidences of slow speech against four for faster, and, despite exclamatory inflections, must go slow:

What, my young master? O my gentle master! O my sweet master! O you memo|ry
Of old Sir Roland! why, what make you here?
Why | are you virtuous? why do people love you?
And wherefore are you gentle, strong and valiant?
Why | would you be so fond to ov|ercome
The bonny priser of the humorous Duke?
Your praise is come too swiftly home before you.
Know you not, master, to some kind of men
Their graces serve them but as en|emies?
No more do | yours; your virtues, gentle master,
Are sanctified and holy traitors to you.
O, what a world | is this, when what | is comely
Envenoms him that bears it.

Adam's part in the verse-dialogue of this scene presents thirty-two pieces of evidence, over two-thirds of them for slow speech — an utter reversal of the norm. The meter does not allow for many common slurrings such

as memory and Why would, and what is; and most such slurrings as appear are too usual to suggest great speed.

The lines of the Ghost in Hamlet, being more numerous and all in verse, offer even better evidence. Eighty-two of these verses are in I, v, and six in III, iv. The former scene is predominantly slow except for one bitter passage that begins, "Ay, that incestuous..." and ends, "To those of mine." These eleven lines contain seven evidences of speed and none of slowness; but, even counting this outburst, the scene has only thirty-one evidences for fast to twenty-five for slow speech — far slower than average. The six lines of the Ghost in III, iv, contain no evidence of speed and six for slow tempo. Thus the items for the Ghost's whole part stand thirty-one to thirty-one; and this is far slower than the 1:3 or 1:4 ratio that is Shakespeare's average. The slow tempo of Adam and of the Ghost is quite in character; for both parts must express great dignity, the one of

age, the other of the spirit world.

Professor Baldwin basing his investigation on the known casting of several plays and on the practice in "stock" of giving an actor again and again similar rôles, has assigned to Shakespeare fifteen other parts, beginning with the Duke of Ephesus in the Comedy of Errors as played in 1589 and ending with the Duke of Florence in the 1607 performance of All's Well. All these parts are minor, and each contains less than a hundred lines; but they have a certain importance and dignity, for they are generally the fathers of the heroines or the rulers of the state. Most of them are written in poetry; and all except that of Vincentio in The Taming of the Shrew contain enough lines of verse to allow of some conclusion as to tempo. Of these fifteen parts, eleven, like Adam and the Ghost, are distinctly slower than normal. Antonio in Two Gentlemen of Verona shows twelve evidences of speed against twelve for slow speech; and this makes him three to four times slower than the norm. Charles VI in King Henry V has six slow to ten fast. Prince Escalus in Romeo and Juliet has sixteen to twenty. The Duke in The Merchant of Venice has twenty to twenty-seven; and Friar Francis in Much Ado has thirteen to nine. Professor Baldwin is uncertain whether in Iulius Caesar Shakespeare took the part of Cinna or of Cicero; but, as far as the present study is concerned. the question is not material: both parts, though very short, show more evidence for slow tempo than for fast — indeed, in Cicero, it is eight to one. The Sea Captain, which according to Baldwin Shakespeare played in Twelfth Night, is neither aged, nor a father nor a ruler - nor even a gentleman - and yet the evidence is six slow to ten fast. The lack of dramatic reason for his deliberate speech suggests that the tempo of the rôle reflects Shakespeare's own habit of utterance. Friar Peter in Measure for Measure and Duncan in Macbeth show an approximate balance of evidence; and in All's Well the extremely short part of the Duke of Florence shows

² T. W. Baldwin, Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company, Princeton, 1927, 261 etc.

a ratio one to two. This test of tempo definitely supports these eleven ascriptions of Shakespearean rôles that Baldwin makes.

The other three ascriptions present some difficulties. The first of these rôles is that of the Duke in the Comedy of Errors as performed in 1589. The part has almost ninety lines, and yields about ten items of slow evidence to forty-two for fast. In other words, it approximates the norm of Shakespeare's plays, and does not show the grave deliberation that one might expect either of Shakespeare as an actor or of an exalted noble; and one might infer that the novice playwright knew neither ducal decorum nor his own forte as an actor. Perhaps he did not write this early rôle for himself; or perhaps he did not think to adapt it to his habit of speech; or perhaps he was not yet skillful enough to do so. In short, this part, for all its speed, may have been played by Shakespeare or may not.

The sixty odd lines of the Duke in the third scene of Othello offer a more perplexing problem; for Shakespeare by then was in his full stride as poet and dramatist, and must have realized his own capabilities as an actor. The part is small, but it dominates most of a crucial scene. The Doge and the magnificoes are represented as hearing a rapid succession of contradictory messengers report on the Turkish naval maneuvers that threaten Cyprus. Then Brabantio's charges against Othello interrupt them; and they must settle these before the Moor can go to defend the island. Military exigencies give the scene a breathless haste; and this appears in the Duke's speech, which is about one to six, almost twice as fast as the usual speed of Shakespeare's plays. Even the sententious lines in which he tries to console Brabantio show more evidence for fast than for slow delivery. Of course, the Doge is depicted as speaking informally in the council charaber rather than in public, and the Cyprus affair cried haste; and these reasons may explain his rapid, decisive speech; but they suggest that Shakespeare did not take this part. The rôles of Gratiano, Lodovico and Montano are likewise too fast. The rôle of Brabantio, though rather longer than Shakespeare usually takes, is possible; for, though the father's bitterness and inner turmoil give it speed, Brabantio seems by nature a slow speaker: he often starts gravely and then, under stress of his feelings, his speech gains momentum. Baldwin, however, with great probability assigns the part to John Hemminges, who also played Polonius and Kent, and a change in this ascription would involve considerable difficulties. A more attractive theory is that Shakespeare took no part at all in Othello; for the play was written well on in his third period when he seems already to have been retiring from the stage. In fact, Professor Baldwin assigns him no acting part in Lear which was written about that time. The present writer, therefore, doubts that Shakespeare played the part of the Duke, or any other part in the performance of Othello.

The part of Lepidus in Antony and Cleopatra is also questionable, though it is perhaps too short to show positive evidence. Lepidus appears in six scenes scattered through the first half of the play; and he speaks almost thirty speeches but only one of any length. The evidence for tempo is

thirty for fast as against eight for slow — not far from the norm of Shakespeare's plays. The rôle does not seem to fit the Shakespearean pattern set forth by Baldwin and illustrated in most of the others that he lists; and it belongs in the latest play in which he assigns a rôle to Shakespeare. In short, the present writer would question it for the same reasons that he questions the Duke in Othello, and therefore assumes that Shakespeare retired from the stage even earlier that Baldwin suggests.

Of the seventeen rôles that Baldwin assigns to Shakespeare, the present study clearly supports fourteen, and seriously questions only two. One might ask whether this method could suggest other parts that Shakespeare took. Boyet in Love's Labor's is just the sort of dignified elderly gentleman that Shakespeare might have played; but his tempo averages one slow to three fast; and this is much too rapid unless one wishes to rely on the same explanations that give Shakespeare the rôle of the Duke in A Comedy of Errors. The part of the Duke of Athens in the Dream seems too long and too important for Shakespeare; but the speeches in verse show about an even balance of slow and fast, and so approximate Shakespearean tempo. Professor Baldwin gives Shakespeare no rôle in this early play; but, if the playwright had one, it may well have been the Duke. In Lear, the part of Burgundy is too brief for valid evidence, and that of France is too fast to be assigned to Shakespeare. The part of Gonzalo in The Tempest is just the sort Shakespeare might have taken — or John Heminges also. It shows but few more evidences for fast than for slow time, and so is within the Shakespearean range of speed; but it is probably too important and certainly too late to be assigned to Shakespeare with great certainty. In short, the present writer is not inclined to add to Professor Baldwin's list, except perhaps the rôle of the Duke of Athens.

The data set forth in the present paper support Professor Baldwin's ascriptions, and furthermore imply that Shakespeare as an actor spoke with dignified deliberation. Was this merely part of his histrionic technique, or was it also his habit in daily life? The slow speech of the Sea Captain in Twelfth Night suggests that it was habitual; and this in turn (if one care to climb the dangerous heights of hypothesis) suggests that Shakespeare, like most modern actors, merely played himself in all his rôles, and was, in short, not truly an actor at all, but a mere "stage personality". At all events, the parts he took do not suggest that he was a "star". Be these hypotheses as they may, the fact remains that, as in an earlier study, this type of evidence generally supports the conclusions of Professor Baldwin; and, if Shakespeare took the parts that Baldwin and the present writer agree upon, Shakespeare, on the stage at least, could hardly have followed Hamlet's advice to the players to speak their lines "trippingly".

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JOHN W. DRAPER.

Reviews

From Virgil to Milton. By C. M. Bowra. London: Macmillan and Co. 1945. 15 s.

A train of thought beginning with the admirable introductory and definatory remarks of the Warden of Wadham College on literary epic wanders back to Aristotle's Poetics to ponder there upon a possible translation of that vexed word mimesis as 're-presentation'. If 're-presentation' be one of the primary functions of the writer through which his artistry is expressed it is no less necessary that a scholar should number it among his main objectives. Not all scholars can be productive: some are by nature analytical, even destructive, others merely harmless drones; yet the most dangerous are the over-specialised, the narrow, those who must be reminded that they are no absolute owners but rather stewards who should not bury their talents. The ideal of a broad humanitarianism is apparently out of fashion, and the common denominator of specialists in different fields at a low level: but the more need, not the less, for works of literary criticism of a general nature which incorporates the results of our intense and specialised scholarship. Not all scholars (and the literary critic who has not scholarship is to be deplored, for scholarship merely implies the desire for full understanding of a subject and integrity in treating it) can possess the ability to interpret great literary works for their own generation and those who come after, but they should recognise the need for such work. Just as translations will and should continue to be made in contemporary language without necessarily superseding, but, it is to be hoped, joining the great translations of the past which have themselves become classics, so there should be informed comment in each generation which selects and stresses aspects of great literature in the light of previous criticism and contemporary thought, and is capable of comparing the literature of different periods and languages. The veiled reproach which is often cast upon such work with the application of the word 'popular' is as damaging as the stigma of Shaw's phrase 'middle class morality upon the careful behaviour of a sane and balanced person. For a genuine scholar, to write with the possibility of incurring the reproach that his work is 'popular', must have strength and largeness of outlook, the human experience and wisdom that can present the original in a way that will deepen the ordinary reader's comprehension and appreciation, while stimulating his thoughts and emotions.

Dr. Bowra comes well prepared to his task. Not only did he serve his apprenticeship in classical studies, but many classical students will remember with pleasure how his works on classical subjects, especially his treatment of tradition and design in the *lliad*, added to the interest of their reading, and extended their view of the background of Homer's story. In the last few years Dr. Bowra has entered new fields which reveal his great versatility. The Heritage of Symbolism, an eminently quotable book, was an account of the symbolist poets of the last century's close which included

an examination of Yeats and his continuance of the technique into more recent times; it combined these analyses of the work of individual poets with an inquiry into the general aspects of the subject. A Book of Russian Verse further extended the wide scope of Dr. Bowra's reading and literary interests. Now he has taken up a subject of magnitude: his latest book comprises an introductory chapter on literary epic, which, in effect, delineates the ground which is covered in the succeeding chapters on Virgil and the ideal of Rome, Camões and the epic of Portugal, Tasso and the Romance of Christian chivalry, Milton and the destiny of Man. This work is designed to appeal to the general reader who has not a knowledge of Italian or Portuguese, and may not be aware of the excellent 17th century translations from which Dr. Bowra makes his quotations, or to the unfortunate who was introduced to the problems and not the pleasures of Virgil or Milton.

The book does appear attractive from the start. The printing is good and the lay-out clean and simple. The style is refreshingly limpid; every sentence runs naturally without any striving for effect; the prose owes much to the author's classical sense of syntactical structure. He describes Milton's conscience as extracting from him 'a strength and nobility which may be lacking when standards are more lax'; his own standard of English is high, with that simplicity and directness which are the result of clear thinking and sound style. It is pleasant, for example, to find commas and semi-colons used in a correct yet natural manner. Quotations are made cleverly: the text on which the writer's deductions are based is presented after he has stated his ideas: the result sometimes reminds one of the rabbit being suddenly and uncontradictably produced from the hat, unquestionably alive and kicking. Part of the charm of this book can be illustrated by a comparison of its section on Milton with C. S. Lewis' Preface to Paradise Lost where through a more obvious method the reader is not allowed to fathom or attempt to fathom the method of the rabbit's appearance for himself, and so tends, unless he is a student or scholar, to think of the taxidermist rather than of the highly imaginative active and gifted conjuror that Mr. Lewis really is.

Technique, then, is excellent. What of Dr. Bowra's comments? He is to be praised for the manner in which he sees his subjects in relation to their contemporary background, and to their literary inheritance. He is always alert for an opportunity to stress a similarity or difference between his subjects without taking from his immediate purposes. Wood and trees are seen clearly through his eyes and he helps the casual traveller to avoid the old stumps that might otherwise trip him: his explanation of the Dido incident; his treatment of the beautiful in Camões and Tasso; and his acknowledgement and interpretation of the impressiveness of Satan all are sensible and clearly argued. A feature which is worth noticing is the manner in which the personal lives of the poets are brought to our notice; not obtrusively, but with a correct insistence on the importance of such knowledge in arriving at a fuller understanding of the poets' work. Dr. Bowra is

sometimes described as a wit; there is much 'true wit' to be found in the pages of this book.

Groningen.

A. Norman Jeffares.

Studies in the English Outlook in the Period between the World Wars, with an Introductory Chapter on Periodology. By Conrad G. Weber. 189 pp. Bern: A. Francke. 1946. Sw. Fr. 8.

This is a book which is the outcome of much thought and wide reading and which draws its inspiration, partly at least, from the work of the late Professor Bernhard Fehr, to whom the author pays a tribute in a short prefatory note. It is the kind of book for which there was a very real need; yet one cannot feel that Dr. Weber has really satisfied that need or succeeded in doing all that he set out to do, for one is left with a sense of disappointment and with the impression that the discussion, conducted through nearly two hundred pages with much earnestness, leads ultimately to conclusions which come as something of an anti-climax. It is as if, in proverbial phrase, the mountain in travail had given birth to a mouse. But the task which the writer has undertaken is an ambitious one, and if the expectations aroused are not completely fulfilled, a good deal of pioneer work has nevertheless been accomplished.

The premise from which Dr. Weber develops his study is a three-fold one, viz. (a) that we are accustomed to distinguish "periods" in the development of literature and to attribute to these periods something that we call an outlook. So it becomes necessary to inquire whether this classification is valid: whether it is legitimate to use the term "period" in anything but a historical or chronological sense, and whether, in fact, a period is characterised by a consistent or well-defined outlook, or whether we are not over-simplifying things for the sake of convenience, orderliness and the urge to docket and label when we assume that it is. (b) That the literature produced in the years between the two wars, taken as a whole, was more distinctly expressive of the spirit of the age, and arose more directly from the mental and spiritual ferment of the times than did that of any other age. Hence one is impelled to inquire whether one can detect in that literature any clue to the understanding of the human spirit during those twenty-odd years, a question of interest not only from a literary but from a metaphysical and a psychological point of view. And (c) that literature and the arts do not exist in a world of their own. They can be appreciated and understood, especially in these modern times, only if they are related to the philosophical, religious and scientific thought which is part of the ethos in which they flourish, from which they grow, and of which they themselves are manifestations. Hence Dr. Weber's study resolves itself into an examination not only of works of literature in the

more restricted sense of the word, but also works of a speculative, critical and academic nature in many fields of human knowledge and inquiry.

The books falls into two parts; the theoretical, in which the author discusses the questions of periodicity and outlook, and the practical, in which he applies his conclusions to a number of representative modern works. We recognise periodicity in the physical and material world (e.g. in the recurrence of day and night, of the seasons, of the solstices etc., and in the various stages of growth and development in both animal and vegetable). Does that same periodicity, or something comparable, exist in the moral and spiritual realms? That is the question Dr. Weber sets out to discuss in the first section, and the conclusion that he comes to is that it does, and that what we ordinarily call the "history" of literature is our mental comprehension and collation of the periodicity of literature. The kind of appeal made to our minds is similar to the appeal made to our visual sense by an impressionist painting (p. 34). But. Dr. Weber suggests, our own generation is perhaps the only one that has been aware of its own apartness and periodicity; earlier ages emphasised the idea of the traditional and the constant, and were less accustomed to the notion of change. "We are witnessing the rare spectacle of an age becoming conscious of itself" (p. 41).

Dr. Weber is far from easy to follow in this section. He quotes many authorities, from Spengler to Bertrand Russell: he uses much of the technical jargon of psychology, mathematics and philosophy, and on occasions one feels that his arguments border on argument from analogy, a method of reasoning which any logician would deprecate. Again, writing on page 42 of the way in which, as he alleges, the present age is becoming conscious of itself, he declares.

The immediate cause of the creation of this consciousness was a feeling of danger right through the nineteenth century. Waning Christian security made it necessary to check up on the essentials of our civilisation and to make sure which, if any, might be re-affirmed.

But is not this dangerously near to begging the question? Might not one claim, with equal justification, that this feeling is one aspect of the consciousness or one of its manifestations, and not merely a cause of it? If the nineteenth century was thus troubled by a feeling of danger, then surely that age was also conscious of itself. And if this sense of danger and of the "waning Christian security", as our author phrases it, was discernible from the early decades of the century, took on varying forms through the succeeding decades, and finally merged itself in the twentieth-century disillusion, cynicism and the search for new values (as Professor H. V. Routh, in his book Towards the Twentieth Century, suggests that it does), then what becomes of Dr. Weber's theory of periodicity?

In the second part of the book Dr. Weber proceeds to apply his theories to the literature of the twenty-one years that separated the two world-wars, dwelling upon the pessimism, the sense of decadence and disillusion, the tendency first to exalt democracy and then to belittle man and his significance,

the sense of muddle, but at the same time the lack of any real, fundamental and radical revolutionary fervour. He explores the twentieth-century humanism, the fascination that speculations upon the nature of time had for the thinkers and writers of the age, the questioning of the foundations of moral values, and the apparent drift from religion, though it is questionable whether Bernhard Shaw's *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* can rightly be described as an attack on Christianity (Dr. Weber so describes it by implication on page 67); and since C. E. M. Joad in his earlier days is cited as one of those who helped to propagate an agnostic outlook in matters of belief, it should, out of fairness, be noted that in recent years he has modified his attitude, as witness his book *God and Evil* and various pronouncements on the Brains Trust of the B.B.C.

Dr. Weber has obviously read very widely and has digested and carefully considered the results of his reading. On the philosophical and scientific sides he has not confined himself to publications in the English language, but has also given some attention (and quite rightly so) to certain foreign treatises which have influenced English thought. But to the English reader there are obvious lacunae in his study. For instance, though he makes many references to Aldous Huxley he appears to be ignorant of his book Ends and Means, which, representative of a certain school of ethical thought of the mid-thirties, was widely read and discussed at the time of its appearance, and without a knowledge of which Huxley's other works cannot be fully understood. There are numerous references to the novels of I. B. Priestley, but no mention of his three plays Time and the Conways, I Have Been Here Before and Johnson over Jordan; yet these are some of the best examples of the treatment of the "time theme" in the literature of the period. Again, on the religious side considerable attention is devoted to the Modernist movement in the Church of England, as represented in the writings of Dean Inge, but nothing is said of the "new orthodoxy" which, under the influence of Karl Barth and his school on the Continent, has been gaining ground in this country for the past twenty years, and today, with so "popular" an exponent as C. S. Lewis and the connivance of the B.B.C., is causing some concern in more liberal religious circles.

There are, too, in addition to the twenty mis-prints noted in the list of corrigenda, a number of minor inaccuracies. The Observer is cited on page 127 as the Sunday Observer, though elsewhere its title is correctly given; and Dr. L. P. Jacks is not a member of the staff of this newspaper, as seems to be implied on p. 80, although he has been a frequent contributor of special articles to it; he is an ex-Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, and editor of the Hibbert Journal. Canon Percy Dearmer's christian name is mis-spelt Percey (p. 80), the St. John Bolingbroke of p. 136 should be Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, while the eminent economist quoted on p. 144 is G. D. H. Cole, not G. D. W. Cole. Nor are authors always mentioned by the names by which they are usually known to their public. It is, for instance, rather disconcerting to English readers to come across A. Huxley, B. Russell, C. D. Lewis, F. M. Ford, B. Shaw and J. M. Murry

(Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, C. Day Lewis, Ford Madox Ford,

Bernard Shaw and J. Middleton Murry).

But perhaps some of this criticism is carping and pedantic. Many of the faults noticed are comparatively minor ones, and in spite of them Dr. Weber has done a praiseworthy piece of work. His main conclusions are (a) that during these years there was no single "English outlook", but a variety of outlooks, all the chief of which are reflected in the literature of the period, and (b) that even in his most dissatisfied and revolutionary moods John Bull has always been the respectable English gentleman, fighting shy of excesses and anxious to conform within limits to "what is done". This is the unifying factor amongst the different outlooks. There are diversities of workings, but the same spirit.

The book has been carefully planned, methodically arranged and fully documented, while the author has been at some pains to get at the essentials of the works with which he deals. Yet for all that it is not easy to read, and, as we have said, leaves one a little bewildered and disappointed at the end. The fault may be partly in the reader if he expects the author to make perfect order out of virtual chaos and confusion; it is partly, too, inherent in the subject; nor perhaps can the writer be altogether acquitted, since at the opening he raises one to a pitch of expectation which is not quite fulfilled; and no doubt the fact that the book, as printed, is only about one-third of the original draft is also responsible in some measure.

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FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Brief Mention

Časopis pro Moderni Filologii (A Journal of Modern Philology)

The first post-war number¹ (Jan. 1946; pp. 104) has come to hand of Časopis pro Moderni Filologii, a quarterly published by the "Klub Modernich Filologu" v Praze" (Association of Modern Philologists at Prague) and containing articles on Germanic, Slavonic, English and Romance philology, all of which bear witness to the high standard literary and linguistic research have reached in the country of Hus and Comenius, Masaryk and Benesj. The medium is Czech, except in the supplement — a new feature of this journal — which gives reviews of books in different languages, in the number under consideration in English, French and Russian. In a brief introduction the Editor-in-chief Josef Janko announces the reappearance of Časopis after a three years' silence and expresses a wish that it may remain faithful to its tradition: to serve the brotherhood of nations, especially the brotherhood of the Slavonic nations, "which are rightly led by our Russian brother now".

The first article, written by Prof. B. Trnka, gives a survey of the numerous works of Vilém Mathesius (1882—1942), preceded by a short biographical notice of this well-known Czech scholar, whose new methods of research in the domain of linguistics.

¹ Since this notice was written, the numbers 2 and 3 have also appeared. — Ed.

and literary history found international recognition. It stands to reason that only the salient points of Dr. Trnka's article can be mentioned here. In the year 1912 Mathesius became the first professor of English philology in the university of Prague. His first publication (1906) was a review of Jespersen's Growth and Structure of the English Language; it was already as mature as his later writings. Mathesius' interest in linguistics as well as in literature is to be explained by the fact that in his scientific inquiries he always started from a connected text; thus he became a pioneer of structuralism in two directions. For linguistics, he studied the works of Sweet, Jespersen, Wegener and von der Gabelentz, in literary history he was a pupil of Scherer, Heinzel, Fischer and Liddel. In Taine's Criticism of Shakespeare he showed himself an adherent of the doctrine of common sense, which only reckons with facts and borrows from theories only those elements that are serviceable for a good understanding of reality. But Czech scholarly tradition owes to Mathesius not only this respect for facts, but also a certain love of laying bare what is problematical. These two general traits are revealed in Studies in the History of English Word-order. In this treatise, as in all his later syntactical sketches, the sentence and particularly the relation between subject and predicate, had his special interest. Mathesius did not believe in laws without exception: in analysing living, not artificially simplified, individual language, which, according to him, is the principal task of language study, he found "tendencies" rather than laws. Being no admirer of abstract historical laws, he did not apply himself to dynamic structural linguistics, but directed his attention to the static analysis and the static comparison of languages. Many important problems, he said. will crop up when one examines a language or a dialect statically. This method of inquiry is very important, because it shows us that the historical development of a language must be seen as a constant hesitation between parallel forms.

Mathesius also wrote a history of English literature (1910—1915), in which he proved himself a master at characterizing and analysing literary monuments. On the occasion of the Shakespeare tercentenary in 1916 he published no fewer than seven studies. In Shakespeare's Plays in relation to Plutarch he pointed out that the greatness of the English dramatist does not lie in the invention of the material, but in the way in which he makes use of the material found elsewhere. In Shakespeare's Hamlet he arrived at the conclusion that the poet does not view the world from the narrow angle of a certain philosophical doctrine; what might be called Shakespeare's philosophy is only a positive attitude towards human nature and social order.

After the first world-war Mathesius' attention was more and more engrossed by the new tendencies in linguistic science. It is also at this period that he begins to devote himself to phonology. In 1929 he delivered his first lecture on this new branch of linguistics, three years before Troebetskój discoursed upon the same subject at Amsterdam. Towards the end of his life Mathesius returned to syntactical problems. Then he also published one of the best treatises on style ever written in Czech, entitled Language and Style, in which among other things he gave useful hints on how to obtain a lucid and fluent style.

Meanwhile Mathesius had never neglected his native tongue: he constantly busied himself with it and succeeded in freeing spoken Czech from the stamp of inferiority, which preceding Czech linguists had put upon it. By his breadth of view, his sense of the problematical and his need to inform others of the results of his researches, he was one of the best Czech scientific educationalists. He was not a systematist like Gebauer, but a pioneer of new tendencies, which he developed by independent labour in contact with the international trend of linguistic science and — and this is repeatedly stressed by Prof. Trnka — in contact with reality.

Another article that may interest the Anglicist is that on Polyonymy and Desynonymization in English by O. Vočadlo. After drawing attention to the great complicacy of the English vocabulary and giving many instances of this phenomenon, the author dwells on the historical causes that are responsible for the vast number of words that have about the same meaning. Next he asks: do real synonyms exist or not? When English and French had not yet become one whole there were of course real synonyms, e.g. clean and pure. Complete synonyms, however, are a luxury a mature language cannot permit itself. They are apt "to specialize themselves", because a language is in constant need of finding

new ways of expression. This process of desynonymization is often promoted deliberately by authors. It is true, it makes a language still more complicated, but, on the other hand, it enables a writer or a speaker to employ finer shades of meaning. Coleridge declared that every word expressing something that was not expressed exactly by another word before, is a new instrument of thought. Desynonymization also has a direct practical advantage: it may give rise to useful doublets as prune and plum, readable and legible, etc.

Groningen.

H. R. S. VAN DER VEEN.

A Poet and a Theatre. By Dr. A. N. JEFFARES. 20 pp. J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, Groningen-Batavia. 1946.

This is Dr. Jeffares' inaugural lecture held in the University of Groningen on May 21st, 1946. It contains a lively sketch of William Butler Yeats' famous struggle for an Irish theatre in Dublin. There is hardly a story in modern theatrical annals as stirring and as satisfactory as this one of a shy, but highly talented young poet's dream of a new type of theatre and drama that becomes a moving force in the cultural history of his people. Dr. Jeffares gives a competent account of the conditions that favoured Yeats' plans, of the coming and going of his main helpers, of the enormous difficulties that had to be overcome, of the experiments that led to the foundation of the Abbey Theatre. He points out also that Yeats soon came to look upon his creation which a laughing and a weeping eye because it deviated rather early from the path he had hoped it would follow. On the whole, however, Dr. Jeffares had to restrict himself to an account of the outward facts and to leave such fascinating problems as the function of Yeats' dramatic and theatrical activity in his inner development to more detailed discussions. — R. St.

Humanitas. A University Quarterly. Vol. I, No. 1: Summer 1946. 46 pp. Published by the Editors — From the University Union, Manchester 15. Price 2s. 6d.

This is the first number of a new Quarterly contributed to by students and teachers of the University of Manchester, but addressing itself to readers and writers from other quarters as well. Its contents are on a high cultural level and show a serious and intelligent approach to the problems of our time. They include articles on The Case Against the Universities, The Resurrection of Man, Culture and Kultur (by a Dutch student), Swift and Nihilism, and one on British films. There are, besides, a poem and a number of reviews. What distinguishes all these contributions is not post-war disillusionment and cynism, but an earnest search for positive values and a critical attitude to popular beliefs. If it can maintain the high standard set in this number, Humanitas deserves a wide circulation, not in England only, but, if possible, among students in other countries as well. — Z.

Intonation - Word-Order - Provisional It

The perusal of the articles on "Provisional it", which appeared in E.S. in the years 1943-44 — they have only come to my notice now that the war is over, and the back numbers have been sent to Swiss subscribers — induces me to say something about the intonation of the sentences examined there. I shall not take up the argument again. "The case is adjourned," says the note that the editor appended to the last article. And so it should be. It would have been to little purpose to prolong a discussion in which the participants were at cross-purposes from the beginning. The chief source of misunderstanding is the fact that intonation, which is of prime importance here, has not been taken into consideration at all.\(^1\) One cannot help feeling that the sentences were not spoken or "heard" by their learned commentators.

One point at issue is the relative weight of the two constituent parts of sentences like

- a) It would be silly to refuse.
- b) To refuse would be silly.
- a) It is inconvenient arriving in London on a Sunday.
- b) Arriving in London on a Sunday is inconvenient.
- a) It is obvious that he has done it on purpose.
- b) That he has done it on purpose is obvious.

The other is their meaning, the question whether (a) and (b) are equivalent or not.

As sentences of this type are one form of the complex sentence, and as the intonation of complex sentences is, in principle, the same as that of simple sentences, the intonation of English sentences in general will be described first (I), then its bearing upon word-order will be touched upon (II), and only afterwards the sentences with provisional it will be considered (III)².

1

A. The normal English intonation pattern consists of a descending scale from the first to the last stressed syllable. Within or after the last stressed syllable the pitch falls to a low level (Tune I of the handbooks).

¹ There are a few passing remarks about stress and one reference to intonational variations, which, however, do not elucidate the points at issue.

² Some of the following remarks are already set down in my book: The Role of Intonation in Spoken English, 1935. I also have to repeat, for those readers not familiar with them, some of the fundamental facts about English intonation.

It "isn't e'xactly what I \ want. A&W p. 13 I "haven't 'seen him since \ Monday ditto³

Sometimes there are one or several unstressed words after the intonation turn; they have low pitch, with or without a certain amount of dynamic stress.

He "always keeps me \searrow waiting such a long time. Gr § 502 It "isn't at \searrow all a bad thing. Gr § 181

Sometimes there are several syllables before the first stress. They gradually rise to the pitch of the first stressed syllable, or they are pitched low.

There's not the faintest possi_bility. ES XXVII I'm having a flesson a < day.

The most prominent syllable is the last stressed one, which has the turn, the second in prominence is the first stressed one, which has the highest pitch. When there are only two stresses, one in the subject, the other in the predicate part of the sentence, or one in the main clause, the other in the subordinate clause, the two peaks of prominence stand out clearly.

His "father was an \ artist.

They " do what they are \ told.

I " wonder if I might \ take this.

ES 35

Often there is only one stressed word, especially with short sentences.

She's not so well this morning. A&W 52
I'm sur prised at your doing it. Gr § 344
It's a piece of chalk.
I ex plained the matter to him.

³ As far as possible I take my examples from books with tone marks. As this article is not concerned with intonational variations neglected in the handbooks, but with the function of the patterns described there, intonation is represented as simply as possible here: a slanting line before the syllable with the intonation-turn points to the tune.

 \searrow = falling > = rising \lor = falling-rising I should have preferred arrows, but the types could not be supplied by the foundry. — A raised dash indicates the syllable with the highest pitch, when the highest pitch and the turn do not coincide. Other stressed syllables are preceded by a stress mark.

The reference to the source may seem superfluous with many of the sentences, but as it would have been difficult to decide when the reference is desirable and when unnecessary, the source is always indicated when an example has been taken from one of the following books:

| D. Jones: An Outline of English Phonetics 4th ed. | 0 |
|---|-----|
| Armstrong and Ward: Handbook of English Intonation | A&W |
| Harold E. Palmer: Everyday Sentences in Spoken English 1930 | ES |
| " A Grammar of Spoken English 1st ed. | Gr |
| Dorothée Palmer: Phonetic and Tonetic Transcription of "The | |
| Mollusci' by H. H. Davies | M |
| H. Sweet: Primer of Spoken English | P |
| " Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch | E |

B. When a sentence is of a certain length, or rather when there are many syllables between the first and the last stress, it is generally divided into two tone groups, the first having mostly, not always, a rising turn (Tune II of the handbooks). There are two peaks of prominence here too, namely the two turns, the falling turn at the end being the chief peak of prominence.

"When they ar'rived at the station, they found that the train had gone. A&W33

For about two miles the road climbs upwards. ditto

Whether a sentence is pronounced as one or two groups does not only depend on its length, it is also a matter of speed, of style of speech, of individual speech habits. As complex sentences are generally of a certain length, they often form two groups. But also short, simple sentences may have a rise (or fall) on the first stressed word. This has the effect of giving a certain independence to the first part of the sentence.

(He spent his boyhood in Florence) His / father was an < artist.

It is almost as if I was saying: As to his father: he was an artist.4

C. It often happens that the most prominent word is followed by one or many words that carry a certain weight. Then there is a rise at the end, i.e. Tune I is followed by Tune II. This is very common with adverbials and adverbial clauses of time or place.

They were writing \ letters most of the \ time. Gr \ 606
I'll \ show it to you when we get \ home. O \ 1044
I haven't \ seen him \ yet. Gr \ 334
You are walking too \ fast for \ me. Gr \ 370

Pattern C is not just a reversal of B. The second part cannot be pronounced with the most usual form of Tune II, but only with the variant that starts low. Therefore the secondary prominence of an element of the sentence is greater when it precedes than when it follows the main stress.

Compare:

"When they ar'rived at the > station, they "found that the 'train had \ gone. with:

I'll ask her if she'll come, when I see her on Saturday. A&W 35

Often there is no falling part of Tune II even when it precedes Tune I, because there is only one stress.

If I'm / lucky, I shall ar'rive in 'London at < eight.

But even here front position is more prominent than end position. Tune II

⁴ H. Palmer (A New Classification of English Tones, Tokyo 1933) speaks of the referential function of the rise in sentences like:

Edison was an inventor.

at the beginning of a sentence points to something that is to follow, and it therefore creates a certain suspense. The rise has a tendency to be higher, the dynamic stress stronger, than they would be at the end, where there is no such suspense.

Type C is easily confused with another falling-rising pattern, namely an emotional form of statements and requests, which is also possible when the most prominent word is at the end. syllable where the fall-rise begins - which spreads over the rest of the sentence — is used here to denote this pattern. Its use is very often due to contrast.

V- I didn't notice any difference.

V Talking wouldn't have been any good. **A&W 59**

V John doesn't care about it. O § 1051

It isn't V that I wanted to see you about. ditto

But the idea of contrast may have faded or be absent altogether, so that the tune expresses other psychological shades, which almost defy definition.

We were V so sorry not to be able to come. O § 1056 Gr 238 5 V Do make haste.

As V and v are similar 6, it is often difficult to make the distinction. When, as in the examples of C, the tune would be falling if the last element were dropped or placed in front, the pattern is <>

I haven't \ seen him. Most of the > time they were writing < letters.

When, as with the examples of D, the sentence without the last element would be intoned with a rise too, if spoken in the same vein, we are in the presence of \vee

It isn't V that. We were V so sorry.7

ES XXVIII You \ can't have said > that. Gr. § 230 with I \ have known such cases

On the other hand dissimilar sentences have the same notation. Compare: \ Do make \rightarrow haste. \ Do \come. Gr \ 238 \ Don't keep \ laughing. Gr \ 343 with: I was working all \ day \rangle yesterday. Gr § 304 I haven't \ seen him

yet Gr § 334 This is as far as where we got to last time. Gr. § 413 6 For the difference cf O § 1043-44 and 1051-56.

⁵ H. and D. Palmer seem to use V when contrast is implied, when the idea of contrast has faded or is absent altogether. The consequence is that very similar sentences, with identical intonations, are often marked differently. Compare: \ I know what you \ mean, M 13 with \ I didn't notice any change.

⁷ In my book (cf. note 1) I have not distinguished these two types clearly enough. I avail myself of this opportunity to elucidate two points: pp 63-64 "I should like to meet the Browns" is a case of \vee not of \sim .— p. 27 "There's the castle" has \vee in both cases. The higher or lower rise at the end is accidental, and therefore semantically irrelevant. In the first case the fall-rise is due to contrast, in the second to other psychological factors.

 C_1 . A variant of C must be mentioned here. The nucleus of a sentence may be followed by something that does not only carry a certain weight, but that is of comparative independence. Then there is a slight pause between Tune I and II. Words or clauses expressing a reservation or a comment upon the first statement can have this intonation. If the pause is fairly long, the comment or reservation strikes us as an afterthought.

He knew what it meant, more or less A&W 35 The lunch was dreadful, socially, ditto 618 He has made great progress, I'm glad to say. His father is dead, un fortunately.

A conditional clause, when not an integral part of the sentence, is often preceded by a pause.

You ought to do it the first thing to-morrow morning, | if you haven't time to do it to day. E § 31

Try to come earlier, | if you can. ES 23

Note here, as an indication of the pause, the absence of the liaison r.

(cf. O § 757)

(If you want to read it afterwards) it's page thirty two, | if you can remember

You can take it \ now, \ on condition you bring it back to \ morrow. Gr. § 417 I don't mind \ how you do it, \ as long as you do it \ quickly. ditto

I don't mind when we go, as long as we are back by seven.

Note that "as long as" introduces a conditional clause here. Then a clause of contrasting attendant circumstance, when stating a fact known to the interlocutor, has this intonation. The conjunction is "considering" or "when" 9

(Shall we have the fire lighted? — I hardly think we want it; it isn't cold enough. Besides) it isn't worth \sim while, \mid when we are going out in the \sim evening. E § 50 I "don't think he 'ought to \sim go, \mid when he's so \sim busy. A&W 35

But when the clause is an integral part of the sentence, these conjunctions are not preceded by a pause.

It was raining this morning when I went out. Gr § 605
You always stay here as long as you like. ditto § 411
I'm afraid we shall be late for lunch if we go back over the downs.

And the fishing would really be improved if some of the big fish were taken out. ditto 79
It wouldn't suit me at all if Tom became interested in Miss Roberts. M 39
I should be ill, if I didn't get away from my business once in the year.

E § 5010

 ⁸ listed by mistake with the emphatic sentences by A&W.
 9 cf. French "puisque", which is also a temporal conjunction originally.

There may actually be a pause in the last and similar sentences, as the subordinate clause is long, but this pause has a physiological source, it is not conditioned by the structure of the sentence. Cf. Charles Bally: Linguistique générale et linguistique française 2nd ed. § 72, on the phonetic and the phonological aspect of pauses in French.

Here are some further examples of Tone pattern C1:

I should go there \(now, \) except that I'm too \(\tau \) tired. Gr § 419

There was no one at \(\tau \) home, \(\) except the \(\tau \) baby.

He earned a good deal of \(\tau \) money with them, \(\) besides learning English for \(\tau \) nothing.

E. There is yet another tone pattern. It is nearest to C_1 , for here, too, the pause is essential, it seldom completely disappears. But after the pause there is a second tone group with Tune I. This gives equal prominence to the two groups. — While C_1 is used when the second part, though of comparative weight, is less weighty than the first part, being only a comment or reservation concerning it, E is the intonation of sentences the second part of which expresses cause, consequence, purpose, concession; for here the two parts are of equal weight.

You'll $\bar{}$ never grow $\bar{}$ old, $\bar{}$ because you'll $\bar{}$ always 'have some 'new $\bar{}$ fad $\bar{}$ P 91 He went $\bar{}$ early, $\bar{}$ in order to get a good $\bar{}$ seat. Gr § 397 He's $\bar{}$ quite a $\bar{}$ gentleman, $\bar{}$ though you "wouldn't $\bar{}$ think so to look at him. P 72

Tone pattern E may also occur in sentences whose conjunctions do not, as a rule, introduce clauses with Tune I.

I'll make her do the flowers her self, if I have to stand over her all the morning.

M. Note 22

["if" here corresponds to "even if" or "though" (+ may). It introduces a clause of hypothetical concession.]

The "doctor "says it will be the sal vation of him, | if he'll "only stick to it. P 89 [The adverb "only" gives a certain amount of independence to the conditional clause.]

You can transplant \(anything, \[as long as you \] don't dis'turb the \(\cap roots. \] P70 ["as long as" with this intonation corresponds to "if only."]

How could I make \ cakes, | when I hadn't a single \ egg.

[Here the clause of attendant circumstance states a contrasting fact not previously mentioned, it is therefore as important as the main clause.]

He keeps on talking, when he knows it an noys me.

[Here "when" is concessional, it corresponds to "in spite of the fact that..." or "though".]

Sentences with tone pattern E are closely related to the so-called coordinate sentences, which have the same intonation.

He's "quite a \ gentleman, | yet you " wouldn't \ think so to look at him. You'll " never grow \ old, | for you'll "always 'have some 'new \ fad.

The relative independence of the two parts is of consequence with negative sentences of this kind: the negative particle modifies that part of the sentence in which it stands.

He "hasn't come > home, | because he is a fraid.

I "didn't < tell you this at the time, | in order to "leave you some < hope.

But when the subordinate clause is an integral part of the sentence, the

negation, though in the same position, modifies the subordinate clause.

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He \bar{} hasn't come 'home because he is a fraid (but because he is hungry) I \bar{} haven't 'told you this in order to dis courage you (but to .....)<sup>11</sup>
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When the subordinate clause or its equivalent is in front, it has rising intonation and is followed by a pause. But as the same applies to many other non-final sense groups (cf. B), the difference is blurred here. All that can be said is, that — other conditions being equal — the rise has a tendency to be higher and the pause longer when contrast, concession, or a causal relation are expressed. The following examples will illustrate this.

```
Without — eggs and — (low rise) butter | I — can't make a 'Dundee — cake.

Without — eggs and — (high rise) butter, || she has made a de — licious — cake.

— Though she had no ......

If it — (l.r.) rains | I shall go to the theatre to-morrow.

Even if it — (h.r.) rains, || I shall go for a walk to-morrow.

If I — can't be there at the — (l.r.) start | I shall let you — know. — In case I ......

If I give in at the — (h.r.) start, || I shall have to give in to the — finish. — M 30

[The first of these two if-clauses states a hypothetical circumstance.

Between the second and its head clause there is a hypothetical relation of cause and effect.]

—Having no 'room of my — (l.r.) own | is — rather a — nuisance.

—Having no 'room of my — (h.r.) own, || I — work in the — library. — As I have no ......

As a — young — (l.r.) boy | I — greatly ad'mired — Kipling. — When I was ......

As an—ardent — h.r.) Socialist, || I — greatly ad'mired — Marx. — As I was ......
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What factors, logical and psychological, determine, in a given situation, the intonation pattern, and, in connection with it, the word-order of the sentence? An example will serve to illustrate the point.

1) I'm going home when I have finished.

Here the subordinate clause is the most weighty element, the communication. The sentence is a retort upon the interlocutor's "You had better go home now!" or words to that effect. The speaker takes up his interlocutor's words with a certain amount of stress and then adds his own statement.

2) I'm going home when I have finished.

¹¹ Cf. German: "Er ist weil er Angst hat nicht zurückgekommen" and "Er ist nicht weil er Angst hat zurückgekommen".

Here the communication is in the first part, the second carries little or no weight. James is on the point of finishing his work. John, who sees this, may have said: "Come and play bridge!" So the situation makes it superfluous to give the second part prominence.

3) Here is a third situation. A schoolboy is telling his friends about his plans for the future: he will go to a grammar school, then to a university.

And then he proceeds:

-When I've ¹taken my de ∕gree, I shall go to ✓ Canada.

The clause here is at the beginning; if it were at the end it would either

carry too much or too little weight.

"I shall go to > Canada when I have taken my de gree" has contrast stress on "degree", which implies "not, as you are suggesting to me, before", or words to that effect.

"I shall go to Canada when I've taken my de gree" is not appropriate either. It might be said by a student who is soon to take his degree, but not by a boy who is making plans for a distant future. In the boy's account the temporal clause is of weight too; it is almost as if he were saying: Now I will tell you my plans for after my degree; I shall go to Canada.

Many complex sentences and simple sentences containing adverbs can have these three forms according to the situation in which they are spoken. Here are a few more examples. It is left to the reader to picture to himself the situation in which each would be appropriate.

- 1) I = shouldn't 'do it if I were _ ill.
- 2) I shouldn't \(\text{do it if I were } \to \text{ill.} \)
- 3) If I were \nearrow ill I shouldn't \checkmark do it.
- 1) He was (-)ill \ yesterday.
- 2) He was < ill (/) yesterday.
- 3) (-) Yesterday he was < ill.
- 1) He is (-)happy at \ home.
- 2) He is happy at (>) home.

3) At (-) home he is \ happy.

Although the function of the three sentences is different, their meaning is the same. The fact that (1) always and (3) often expresses contrast does not authorise us to speak of differ meanings. In the rare cases where there is a semantic difference, it is due to a word having two meanings.

Please wire if I am to come.

-Please 'wire if I am to come. If = whether Gr § 438

Can you / spare me a few minutes? to spare = to devote to, or: to do without Can you spare me a few / minutes? to spare = to devote to ES 11

I thought he was married.

I thought he was married. to think = to believe 12

¹² Sentences 12 and 13 quoted by Erades E.S. 1943 p. 171 belong here.

Not always, however, is it possible to give a sentence these three forms. Word-order, in modern English, is comparatively fixed, and not every part of the sentence can have front position. In spoken English a predicative adjective or substantive cannot stand in front, nor an infinitive or clause in the function of an object. A nominal object in front position, if not impossible, is exceptional. Then there are limits to the front position of adverbs. Therefore the intonation with two peaks of prominence, which has a connective function, and often expresses contrast with something preceding or following, is not always possible. In German there are practically no such limits, as the following comparison will show.

I can write to him.

I can't \ always help you.

I've never been in < Rome.

G. Ich kann ihm ja 1schreiben. 'Schreiben 'kann ich ihm ja. Ich kann dir nicht 'immer helfen. ¹Immer kann ich dir nicht ¹helfer Ich war nie in 'Rom, In 'Rom war ich 'nie.

Sometimes the fall-rise at the end has this connective function in English. and compensates for the more rigid word-order.

E. It wasn't V bad. He - isn't e'xactly a V hero.

- G. Schlecht war es inicht. Ein 'Held ist er 'nicht gerade.
- E. I knew that he was a V coward (but I shouldn't have thought that he was a cad.)
- G. Dass er ein ¹Feigling ist ¹wusste ich (aber nicht dass...)

Or another construction makes the two peaks of prominence possible.

E. Going - back was im possible.

The older children were told the < truth.

- G. Zu¹rückkehren konnte er ¹nicht mehr.
- G. Den lälteren Kindern sagte man die Wahrheit.
- E. Your breaking all the rules, hasn't made it leasy for us to get on with you.
- G. Dass du dich an keine 'Regel hältst, hat unser Zu'sammenleben sehr er schwert.

(For the construction with it cf. III)

III

Sentences with provisional it must be considered in the light of what has been said in Sections I and II. There are three kinds of such sentences.

- 1. The construction with it is a means of placing in relief one part of the sentence by circumlocution. The device is very common in French (c'est..qui...), rarer in English. The sentences can have two peaks of prominence (a) or only one (b).
 - a) It was in > Rome that he met his future \ wife. It was only \(\square \) then that he saw his mis \(\take. \)
 b) It was in \(\times \) Rome that he met her.

Circumlocution a is a means of increasing the length of the first stressed element, which can thus more easily be made into a separate tone group with a rising turn. It emphasises that element which links the sentence with what precedes. "In > Rome he met his future wife" would be equivalent.

Circumlocution b is a means of placing an element of the sentence in front and giving it contrast stress. This element may be the subject, which even without circumlocution would stand in front and could have the chief stress.

I suppose it's the excitement of Tom's ar rival which is making us feel so next dayish. M 36

The excitement of Tom's ar rival is making ...

It isn't every dog that can kill a hedgehog. P 55

not every dog can ...

But it may also be an object, which otherwise would not stand in front.

It "was't only the < place that she loved; she was equally attached to...

Or the stressed element may be an adverbiai. Most adverbials can stand in front also without circumlocution. But here there is another restriction, which does not concern word-order but intonation. As a rule, an adverb or adverbial clause in front position cannot bear the main stress. So when the situation suggests this word-order and stress, the adverbial is made into a head clause.

It's when they are in \ bed that I like those children best.

It was only after 'long 'years of \ suffering that he discovered his true self.

It's not \ often I ask you to do anything for me. M 39 13

It's only oc casionally that he goes out at night.

It's \ rare(|y|) that he gets up before ten.

Note the adverbs "occasionally" and "rarely" for the adjectives "occasional" and "rare", which shows that the circumlocution has become a cliché. Intonation distinguishes such circumlocutions from sentences where it is an ordinary pronoun, referring to a previously mentioned noun. Compare

It's the \sim country that suits my wife best (not the town). It's the \sim film that I like best (not the theatre). It's the \sim essay that I found so difficult (not the translation).

with

It's the (-) country that suits my wife \ best. It's the (-) film that I like \ best. It's the (-) essay that I found so \ difficult.

18 Pattern D V instead of A > suggests an implication, it lacks finality.

14 Cf. French: C'est à ce moment que parurent ...

- 2. Formally this type is also a circumlocution: a provisional subject it is placed before the predicate and the "real" subject stands at the end. This subject is a that-clause, an infinitive, or a gerund. The gerund is the prevailing form after a few negative expressions like: it is no use, it is no good, it is useless, etc.; otherwise it is rare in this function. The falling intonation-turn can be in the first (a) or in the second part of the sentence (b)
 - a) It'll almost break my heart to say good-bye to the children.
 M2
 It's a pity I didn't know earlier.
 ES 23
 It's dreadful to see a strong healthy woman so idle.
 M 28
 It's so annoying to lose one's glasses.
 Gr § 160
 - b) It's out of the 'question for us to go to a 'picnic to \ day. M 42

 It's generally \times best to go one's own \ way. Gr \ 160

 It's true that I've 'never 'really \ known him.

 It's no use 'crying over spilt \times \
 It's no good \times talking to him. ditto 13

But here the circumlocution is the normal unemphatic form, practically the only form used in spoken English. The corresponding sentences without it are not colloquial, they pertain to another style of speech, heard in lecture rooms and law courts, in public speeches and learned discussions.

To at tribute the crime to the prisoner is ab surd. That he should have done it on purpose makes matters even worse. To have a verading knowledge of a language is one thing, to have a verading knowledge is a different thing alto gether Gr. § 328. To do verading knowledge is ab surd. ditto To go there to verading is ab surd. ditto § 467 15

As this word-order has connective function, it makes for clarity and consistency.

When the infinitive or that-clause is preceded by a verb which is not independent, but which only expresses an aspect of what follows, the construction without it is impossible, for here the two elements form a unity, almost like copula + predicate.

It seems that you are afraid. = You seem to be afraid.

It happened that he was here yesterday. = He happened to be... 18

Why is the construction without it so rare in spoken English? I suggest the following explanation. The reluctance to begin a sentence with an infinitive or a that-clause (the gerund must be treated

¹⁵ These examples — the only ones in Gr — are followed by the remark that this construction is generally replaced by "It is ..." in colloquial English. There is no example of a that-clause in front position in Gr, nor in any of the books from which I quote my examples.

separately) runs parallel with the reluctance to begin it with an object. Yet an object very often has connective front position in non-colloquial English. I pick out a few examples at random:

These functions she discharged with unremitting industry.

(Strachey: Queen Victoria)

A friend, indeed, he had or rather a mentor. (ditto)

Some of the juice of that flower I will drop on the eyelids of my Titania.

(Lamb: Tales from Shakespeare)

This parallelism is not surprising. For in the sentences here examined, the infinitive and the that-clause function practically as objects.¹⁷ "It doesn't suit me to start early" and "I don't want to start early" are almost identical.

In spoken German, where an object can always have front position, an infinitive and a that-clause in the function of a subject can stand in front too.

Dass du ihn gerade heute stören musstest, ist sehr bedauerlich. Dies alles wieder in Ordnung zu bringen, wird keine leichte Sache sein.

3. The sentences with provisional it so far discussed have Intonation A, B or C. They form a unity and no pause is inserted between the two parts. But there is another kind of sentence with it, which has Intonation C_1 , the pause being usually expressed by a comma.

It's dangerous \ work, | playing with ex_plosives.

It's the - oddest 'thing in the \ world, | our meeting like \ this.

Here the gerund is a real subject, an expanded subject.¹⁸ The construction — and the intonation — corresponds to that of sentences like:

He was a wonderful man, that uncle of yours. It's entirely of the earth, that passion. Nice girl, Miss Roberts. M 16

In both cases the expanded subject follows upon a sentence with a pronominal subject as a comment or explanation.

Only the gerund can function as an expanded subject. It has a more substantival character than the infinitive (and of course the that-clause) and often also functions as a subject in front position in spoken English.

The pause may occasionally be absent. This is a phenomenon that we observe in all languages when a turn of syntax gets worn out. Cf. French

The sentence: "It is particularly requested that Miss Sharp's stay in Russell Square may not exceed ten days", which Poutsma (I p. 618) erroneously quotes (together with: "It was from Mr Huxter that Boss had learnt Pen's parentage no doubt") as giving prominence to one word-group, belongs here. It is the only possible form and therefore not more emphatic than any other normal English sentence.

¹⁷ F. Brunot (La pensée et la langue pp. 13 and 290) and Kruisinga/Erades actually call them objects.

¹⁸ Other terms are: "repeated" (Poutsma), "appended" (Kruisinga), "developed" subject (Visser).

"Toi(,) tu ne comprends pas". To this accidental omission of the pause corresponds an equally accidental omission of the comma.

It's inconvenient arriving in London on a Sunday. It's a great advantage having this little brook. It was a great nuisance this war. He was a curious creature this husband of hers. 19

It is true that when the pause has disappeared these sentences resemble those examined in the previous paragraph. Yet the pause could always be restored here, while before an infinitive or a gerund after "It's no use" etc. a pause would clash with the structure of the sentence.

By grounding my treatment of provisional it on the basis of intonation and word-order in general, I have covered more ground than was my original purpose. Incidentally it has been demonstrated that intonation also enters into other problems of syntax, that e.g. the function of conjunctions cannot be dealt with exhaustively on the basis of the written word alone.

Basel.

MARIA SCHUBIGER.

John Skelton, a Conservative

John Skelton was born about 1460 in Cumberland. He was educated at Cambridge and Oxford and received the laureateship. In 1498 Skelton took holy orders and became tutor to Henry VIII. Then he was appointed rector of Diss in Norfolk, but got suspended after some time, because he had secretly married his concubine. From 1521 he had to take refuge in Westminster because of his attacks on Wolsey and he died there in 1529.

Great changes were in progress in Skelton's time. Hardly an element, economic or political, artistic or philosophical, was left untouched. The older nobility had exterminated itself as a class during the Wars of the Roses. The Surreys, with whom Skelton had some connection, were one of the few influential families that could trace their ancestry to the reign of Edward the First, which after all only meant some two hundred years back. No wonder, their outlook was strictly conservative. Trade had created a prosperous middle class amongst the population, which was to be the backbone of the policies of the Henries, and to this solid middle class

¹ The Poetical Works of John Skelton edited by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. 2 vols. London 1843. Vol. I, p. XI.

¹⁹ It is wrong, therefore, to call these sentences simple, as Kruisinga does (Handbook 5th ed. Part II § 2420). The omission of the pause — and comma — is not structurally relevant, it pertains to phonetics, not to phonology.

Skelton originally belonged. He witnessed the growth of nationalism and his dislike of this phenomenon may be behind his attacks on Wolsey. Misdemeanour was rife amongst the servants of the Church and Wiclyffe, Huss, Erasmus and Luther raised their voices against it. Skelton, according to medieval standards, was a good minister himself; he condemned those who neglected their ecclesiastical duties, but condemned the 'newfangled nonsense' of Erasmus and the Wiclyffites even more strongly. Humanism, imported from Italy by Grocyn, Linacre and Latimer developed in England from an international movement concerned with ancient and oriental languages into a religious movement in which purity of text and spiritual, non-scholastic interpretation were the dominating principles and of which the upholders were primarily nationalists. Skelton loved Latin above all other languages and received a laureateship because of his remarkable mastery of this subject. But the distinction was conferred upon him for proficiency in the making of Latin verse and a knowledge of grammar, whereas the Western-European Humanists used a Latin or Greek text as their material and their work consisted in textual emendations, criticism and elucidation of that text. Moreover, the art of letter-writing which made Erasmus and More so famous was not practised by Skelton.

It was a time in which exploratory voyages and the printing-presses broadened the minds of many, especially laymen. Skelton may have had some connection with Caxton's printing-press, for in 1490 Caxton wrote in the preface to *The boke of Eneydos compyled by Vyrgyle:* "But I praye mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenforde, to ouersee and correcte this sayd booke, And taddresse and expowne where as shalle be founde faulte to theym that shall requyre it. For hym I knowe for suffycyent to expowne and englysshe every dyffyculte that is therin." It seems not improbable that Skelton accepted the invitation to expound or english difficult passages in this or any other of Caxton's publications, the more so because Caxton praised his abilities as a scholar and Skelton was very sensitive to this kind of praise. That there is no reference to any such collaboration and that no such fragments have come down to us is no proof to the contrary, as a good many of his longer poems and even a morality have vanished completely in the course of time.

Money was becoming more and more important, not only to bankers like the Fuggers and Medici's, but to Empson and Dudley and to the sheepowner and the shepherd as well. Whereas Erasmus is always begging for money and Thomas More is greatly interested in it — not only for his private use, but also for philanthropic ends — it played no part in Skelton's life, probably because, though never wallowing in it, he was never absolutely without it and philanthropy was no concern of his. In this time, seething with life, in which every moral, aesthetic and economic value is dyed in a new bath so that the whole emerges a decidedly different and very fresh and gay fabric, John Skelton stood like a solid rock of conservatism. And he never llinched, however powerful the storms might be that fell upon him.

But at all times conservatives have to follow, though remotely, the progress

of time, however much they dislike it. Thus Mr. Churchill had to announce a diluted form of state-interference in June 1945. In the same way Skelton's ideas are not identical with Chaucer's and Langland's; the years that followed the fourteenth century had modified these. Yet, though chronologically a contemporary of Erasmus, More, Colet, Luther and Wolsey, he does not toe the line with them. They, not Skelton, made the important contributions that modified and refreshed the medieval cultural tradition. Skelton clung to what had always been there, without creating anything new. He lagged behind in the procession of which the vanguard was formed by the great Humanists.

At the time when Skelton lived the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance was well under way. That meant that more and more men went beyond authority and dogma, the two lines marking the beginning and the end of all medieval thinking. On the one hand, the numerous authorities, traditionally accepted but often fundamentally irreconcilable, were weighed and one by one were found wanting in reliability, so that gradually the Renaissance narrowed down to the single centre, the thinker himself. On the other hand, dogmatic truth, during the Middle Ages the terminus to which all thinking had to converge, receded further and further until it disappeared completely during the Renaissance.

The development of the aesthetic principles shows great similarity to that of the philosophical. Medieval art was compassed within definite limits. The medieval theme, whether the Crucifixion or Pietà in painting, or the Nun's Priest's tale of Pertelote or the story of the transformed hag as told by the Wife of Bath in literature, was common property. On the other hand, in the treatment of that theme there are conventional rules that have to be obeyed: the S-like shape of the body of Christ on the Cross, the prescribed attitudes of Mary and St. John to the left and right of the Cross. Between these two limits, the unoriginality of the material and the conventional representation, the artist uses his inventiveness to vary or to refine as much as his artistic talents will allow him. Gradually the scope of the artist's activity is enlarged and thus Donne's The Good Morrow deals no longer with an impersonal and conventional theme, but gives the efflorescence of the personal sentiments of the two lovers who grow into one unit and then form the centre of the universe. Now it becomes understandable why it was Rembrandt's task to paint realistically and with great gusto the selfportraits which Van Eyck could never have painted in the same way.

In literature the ego makes its first appearance - and naturally it is a very tentative and modest one - in Chaucer, who is a pilgrim himself, but when it is his turn to tell a tale minimizes himself by telling the tale of Sir Thopas, which is atrociously bad, and the tale of Melibee, which makes him

a 'milksope' in the eyes of his audience.

In Skelton's works the ego-element is chiefly found in the Garlande of Laurell. Although it gives no detailed description of Skelton, the man and the artist, as we get in Rembrandt's self-portraits, it is a poem of 1600 lines written by Skelton primarily to praise his own works and talents, to praise himself. It is definitely prompted by an interest in Skelton, not as in Chaucer by a widespread interest covering many objects but only casually focussing on the author himself. This ego-element tentatively initiated in Chaucer as a pilgrim, here permeates the whole poem. But at the same time it is still pushed into the background in this poem, it is purposely hidden by Skelton by means of various kinds of medieval devices. The setting of the poem vividly recalls Chaucer s House of Fame even in minor details like the pavilion, the gold and jewels, the slow procession of figures, the multi-coloured pageant of important personages. With its vague, abstract figures like Dame Pallas and the Queen of Fame, its dimly rendered land-scape, in brief its intentionally dreamlike atmosphere, it attempts to mitigate what was its original purpose: to praise Skelton. But there are other devices, essentially medieval, that serve the same purpose.

Everywhere in the poem Skelton plays a passive role. He does not praise himself in the I-form, but makes Pallas give the order to the Queen of Fame that Skelton shall have a place in her court. Skelton does not express his own opinion of the question: it is decided for him. Unlike the ancient poets, who personally defended the assertion of their own fame, Skelton leaves everything to be settled by Dame Pallas, as he is too dull-witted to speak for himself. When praised by Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate because he improved upon the tradition they started, he conventionally pleads that it is not true, that he is not worthy of being compared to them. And when they want to lead him to the Palace of Fame, he hesitates, though it must have been very difficult for a vain man like Skelton not to jump at the idea. spirit it is the same attitude as Chaucer adopts in the tale of Sir Thopas and in the Retraction, and this conventional modesty together with the medieval setting and the allegorical figures serves to obscure the fact that Skelton praises himself, to make the ego-element less obtrusive. Now Lloyd's statement becomes intelligible 2: "But just as the Elizabethan poet was required to assure his readers that his poems were immortal, and the 18th century writer to protest that he would never have published but for the importunity of his friends, so in the 15th century it was considered necessary to make a confession of incompetence." The Elizabethan could declare: "I consider my poems immortal", because the I as a definite starting-point for all assertions and qualifications then existed: Skelton had to confess his incompetence as the foundation for such an assertion, himself, had not vet been laid.

In a satire the writer makes up his mind as to what is right and what is wrong and using as a touchstone what he considers the highest values the satirist launches an attack on what is wrong. Satire therefore has a negative side — that which is branded as wrong and is therefore strongly repudiated — and a positive side: the set of ideas on behalf of which the attack was launched. As Humbert Wolfe rightly says³: "What impels the

² L. J. Lloyd: John Skelton.

³ Humbert Wolfe: Notes on English Verse Satire. Hogarth Press, 1929.

satirist to write is not less the hatred of wrong and injustice than a love of the right and just." And: "The satirist must have love in his heart for all that is threatened by the objects of his satire. Thus the difference between a great satirist and a lesser consists in part in the vision of that which evil endangers." What is regarded by Skelton to be in danger that it calls forth such violent counter-strokes? When we realise what forms the positive side of his satire, we see his shortcomings. He desperately clings to a world that is of the past, that belongs to the Middle Ages. And though his verse is often a very appropriate and expressive medium, the impetus behind his verse is very weak because it is out of date. His satire is ill-supported and misdirected.

The satires against Garnesche are better considered lampoons. They were written not with the idea of attacking evil, but for the pleasure of spitting out terms of abuse. He would probably have resented it if Garnesche had thrown up the sponge and had taken his advice to heart. And Henry VIII certainly would have done so, for they were written at the command of the king, not so much to reform Garnesche as merely to amuse the king. This mock-tournament with bawdy and abusive terms as weapons was gratifying to the chivalrous spirit of Henry VIII — a very pale reflection of medieval chivalry — or he would have stopped it. But he liked it and patronised it.

Humbert Wolfe says: "The essence of the lampoon is to inflict injury for the sake of mischief. It flourishes most in times of moral degeneration and languor and it is both furtive and transitory. Its essence is to be personal, and only by accident does it on occasion nick a higher mark. Martial, for instance, scribbles a name on the front door with a bawdy epithet, rings a bell and bolts round the corner." Skelton himself depicted that moral degeneration in England, when he dealt with it, in a too loose and casual manner to be effective, in *The Maner of the World*. And this widespread degeneration was only to be expected because the medieval tradition which Skelton so strongly supported, had been watered down and the new ideas were still too few and far between to form a firm backbone to prop up men's shaky morals.

These lampoons were directed against a personage that has been blotted out by the passage of time, because his vices were not fatal enough to his own times to serve as an example of the pernicious effect of vice on society at all times. For the latter it is not sufficient to say that our object of satirical comment is of low birth or has a funny shape of head. To make him immortal the poet should convince us that, whereas his qualities are extremely bad, the world in its stupidity appreciates them as if they were extremely good, which is a short-sightedness found at all times and therefore always

worthy of our attention.

Remarkably modern are his shorter lyrics. In some of them, and especially in Go, pytyous hart, the ego-element is strongly represented. Here is the definite centre, I, round which everything revolves. This short poem, however, well written and not unworthy of being compared to many

a neatly polished Elizabethan Lyric, goes back to Chaucer's and Lydgate's short lyrics and ballads and via the French courts they can be traced to Provence. They make up a body of poetry, a tradition that was handed down from the beginning of the Middle Ages right to the Renaissance, without undergoing any considerable change. But that tradition was not rejuvenated by further additions prompted by other experiences of other men. It was preserved as a proof of good taste rather than as the significant form suitable to the expression of genuine, personal feelings.

In the Canterbury Tales all the pilgrims have functionally the same rank. One is not more important than another. The Wife of Bath has the same artistic importance as the Knight, though the social differences between them were great. And even if in real life one person was dependent on another as the Squire was on the Knight, he is not so in the Canterbury Tales. the imaginary world of art the Squire is independent. Lewis Mumford says 4: "Pilgrims formed bands for mutual protection; and the holy mission leveled all travelers, so that Chaucer did no violence to fact, when he put the Knight and the Miller, the vulgar middle class widow and the refined nun, in the same cavalcade." This, however, does not explain everything. Although it makes it more acceptable that the Knight and the Wife of Bath should go together on the same pilgrimage, it is still noteworthy that no one personage, no matter whether it is the Knight, the Miller or the Host, should become the leader of the group. The fact remains that no one pilgrim forms a nucleus around which the other characters are grouped, not even the Host. He is not a nucleus but a link.

This equality of the personages is also found in Skelton's works. His characters always move on the same plane, not only the allegorical figures in the Bowge of Courte and Magnificence, but even in Philip Sparrow and his Mistress. It is detrimental to the effect of the elegy, which would have been much better without this equality and could have done with a powerful concentration on the Sparrow and a few sidelights on his mistress instead.

In the case of Elynour Rummyng, however, an attempt was made to create something new. Though Elynour forms the centre of a group of filthy hags, there is not sufficient inter-action between them to form them into a living and fascinating whole. The poem resembles strikingly a dramatic piece without dramatic action, like Skelton's morality Magnificence, which is medieval in spirit.

Never is there a climax in a poem by Skelton. There is always the same emotional tension. It does not rise or fall, but remains equally high or low from beginning to end. Therefore in his poems there is no crystallisation of events unimportant in themselves into a unity where they are all interrelated and so assume their importance, but each poem is a detailed record of as many events as the poet can remember or invent, none of them deriving its importance from the place allotted to it in the structure of the whole. This absence of any climax and the arbitrary quantity of events

The Condition of Man, p. 111.

or emotions dealt with which it entails, Skelton has in common with Chaucer and all the other medieval poets. When Philip Sparrow's death has been lamented long enough Skelton proceeds to commend the virtues of the Sparrow's mistress. After that he adds a few more irrelevant lines on the worthiness of the theme and when he cannot think of anything else he might possibly drag into his poem, he ends with a few lines in Latin, because after all Skelton was a scholar. So strongly did Skelton adhere to the medieval tradition that as yet irrelevancy was considered no defect.

In a few cases Skelton does not embroider on a conventional theme, but tries his hand at something original. These are of considerable interest as they show Skelton's transitional position. But though these poems are original, they are not the promise of anything new, because the obsolescent medieval concepts form such a weak backing. The general effect is more of a final splutter than of a bursting into flame. Philip Sparrow, a lamentation on the death of a bird, has only one predecessor, viz. Catullus' Elegy on Lesbia's bird. The resemblance is not particularly striking, however. The verse is very delicate and he utilizes his Skeltonic metre to the full. But the sorrow is expressed with too much wringing of hands and shaking of the body to our taste. This is due, however, to the Gothic tradition, which Skelton follows even in this original poem. In a medieval 'Christ on the Cross' we get the same, to our standards, exaggerated way of expressing deep sorrow in the convulsively sobbing and loudly lamenting Mary under the Cross. Though 'original and exquisite' - as S. T. Coleridge called it — the poem still has its medieval traits: its arbitrary length and the equal stress on unequal characters, the exaggerated, Gothic way of expressing sorrow. They mark Skelton as a conservative, in spite of the traces of originality in his poems.

The setting of Elynour Rumming in the tavern may call forth associations more Elizabethan than medieval, but Chaucer shows familiarity with this great institution too. In all ages the poets probably patronised this centre of inspiration and distraction and we must not be led astray by the preponderance in our memory of a Mermaid and other Elizabethan inns frequented by the great. The minor or not so well-known poets drank their tankard too, though not so ostentatiously in the light of literary history, as a lack of talent did not enable them to immortalise their happy hours. The theme of Elynour Rummyng, the portrait of filthiness personified, is absolutely new. The vigorous, racy language Skelton uses for this theme is a very fit medium and he is a perfect master of it. Many an Elizabethan poet may have profited by a careful perusal of this broad, but highly expressive vocabulary. And it is so out-and-out English, there are no polished, elegant French or Latin terms in the poem, that we marvel at the versatility of Skelton's mind. He is a scholar, extremely fond of Latin, but he still knows how to write manly English. In this he foreshadows Ben Jonson in whom this same combination is found. Even this poem has its medieval aspects: the looseness of form and the absence of inter-action that should link the various characters and thus make the poem a unity. It is remarkable that even in Elynour Rummyng the length of the poem is not determined by artistic demands, but by the stamina of the poet.

There is some originality of theme in the Garnesche poems. Such venomous lampoons are not often found in literature. The reason is that though personal abuse is common to all times, only very few poets — and then because they have not anything better to do — write it down. Strikingly medieval are his Prayers. They are so rich and majestic, that one might almost imagine them to be said by the spectator who marvelled at the splendour of God the Father in the Adoration of the Lamb by Van Eyck.

On questions of religion and Church regulations Skelton's ideas were entirely conservative. His religious ideas have as their foundation the infallible authority of the Church. There is no reason to change anything, therefore; only the festering spots have to be cut away. The organisation is excellent, but 'everybody should play his allotted part in it', he says in Colyn Clout. Strictly adhering to the regulation Skelton repented having made his concubine his wife. Wolsey should play his part by leaving politics alone, being more humble and taking religious matters more to heart. All heretics, including the Oxford Reformers, Skelton considers wicked because he does not want anything new, but only the well-tested, pure and authoritative, international Roman-Catholic Church.

Recapitulating we may say that in Skelton the medieval tradition clearly manifested itself for the last time, before it became subterranean during the Renaissance. Skelton, who dearly loved the medieval world, was perhaps the last who tried to keep it alive. Sometimes he succeeds and even rejuvenates it as in:

Wyth that came Ryotte, russhynge all at ones,
A rusty gallande, to-ragged and to-rente;
And on the borde he whyrled a payre of bones,
Quater treye dews he clatered as he wente;
Now have at all, by saynte Thomas of Kente!
And ever he threwe and kest I wote nere what:
His here was growen thorowe oute his hat.⁸

Eut this medieval tradition is no longer strong enough to sustain him the whole work through and even in a work entirely designed and laid out in the medieval spirit, he has to patch up the threadbare fabric with racy, colloquial passages which are more in harmony with the Elizabethan than with the courtly medieval tradition.

Plucke up thyne herte vpon a mery pyne,

And lete us laugh a placke or tweyne at nale:

What the devyll, man, myrthe was never one!

What, loo, man, see here of dyce a bale!

A brydelynge caste for that is in thy male!

Now have at all that lyeth vpon the burde!

Fye on this dyce, they be not worth a turde!

Bowge of Courte, 11, 344 ff.

⁶ Ibid., 11, 386 ff.

His original work, though bringing new elements, is clogged by his worship of the Middle Ages and though many a racy Elizabethan phrase rings familiar after reading Skelton, direct influence of Skelton on the Elizabethans can only be traced in scurrilous, bawdy or farcical verse.

Skelton's conservatism, though too weak to serve as a driving force to his poems, was sufficiently strong to prevent him from siding with the pioneers.

It had a bad effect on his achievements as an artist.

Arnhem.

TH. TILLEMANS.

Notes and News

Some Recollections of a Visit to Marburg in June 1946

Last June a Swiss university delegation accepted an invitation of Professor Hartshorne, University Officer for Gross-Hessen, and of Professor Ebbinghaus, Rector of the University of Marburg, to attend the first postwar meeting of German professors from all the universities of the three western zones. It was called together to make a contribution towards the solution of some of the harassing problems by which the authorities in the newly opened German universities are faced. It could not be expected to do anything about the material problems: the scarcity of rooms, clothes, and food. In the matter of periodicals and books it could plan an improvement through a closer collaboration of all the German libraries that have remained intact and through an appeal to foreign aid. The real task of the meeting, however, was the discussion of no less urgent spiritual questions: In what way are the new universities to work? What are they to do with a generation of young people that have been poisoned by Nazi doctrines and have not seen anything except war? It is true, the denazification policy of the allied powers has simplified this problem by expelling the people with a Nazi record, professors and students, from the universities. Thus the most difficult and hopeless class of students simply does not exist. Our knowledge that the young men and women who would form this class, if permitted, were hardly ever taken into account in the Marburg discussions gave them a strange air of unreality at times. But the students admitted to the universities are difficult enough: the majority of them realize that they have been reared on lies; they are shocked, uncertain, sceptical, for quite some time incapable of believing anything they are told by the authorities, ready perhaps to relapse into nationalistic obstinacy and pride. There are others, convinced of the necessity of an entirely new departure, ready to absorb new ideas. All of them, and the professors as well, suffer from having been among themselves too long, from having been cut off from normal contacts with other countries. This is the reason why Professor

Hartshorne and Professor Ebbinghaus thought it useful to invite guests

from abroad to the meeting.

The quests followed the call, and thus showed that they considered the creation of some new form of German life in the European tradition an important thing. And they came to meet an élite, the men whom the allied authorities thought most likely to make the necessary new start. The sessions of the assembly were long and strenuous, the discussions vigorous and moving on the old high level. We cannot enumerate all the topics that were treated, but only some of the conclusions. The need of returning to methods of clear, rational thought and of stemming the floods of relativity and false mysticism in the Geisteswissenschaften was stressed. It was held that the university fulfils a high educational task if the students are trained in the methods of clear and critical thought and enter the professions convinced that those methods must be applied under all circumstances. But many speakers felt that more will be expected in the coming years. Every single professor will have to do his best to bring some sort of order into the existing moral chaos and to help his students in finding a new way of life. There were many grey heads in the assembly so that the question presented itself: Will they reach the students? Will the young war veterans in their disillusionment listen to them?

Numerous papers on such topics as the coordination of research-work, teaching and professional training, on the desirability of a new exchange of ideas, periodicals, books, professors, and students, with foreign universities, and rather too few on the present-day conditions of German student life were heard und discussed. Representatives of the United States and of Switzerland also spoke to the assembly. It was a happy accident that an altogether unofficial representative of Holland had joined the Swiss delegation. When the Germans expressed their eagerness to reopen an exchange with other countries he reminded them of the enormous psychological obstacles that relegate such plans to a still remote future where the countries formerly occupied by the Nazis are concerned. He spoke quietly, but most impressively, of the wrongs and sufferings Germany has inficted upon Holland and of the absolutely negative attitude towards anything German they have caused. His clear and unsparing words were timely, and they were received in the proper spirit, since everybody present felt that the speaker did not want to hurt, but to help,

Most of the German participants in the meeting evinced the wish to see the facts of their situation and to shoulder the responsibility that falls to them, though rather many of them still ponder over the exact extent of that responsibility and over the question, at what moment they, together with their colleagues, failed to fulfil the dangerous duty of opposition against their cunning tyrants. Everybody understands that the Germans cannot and must not forget the past, but there is a terrible way of being absorbed and paralyzed by it. The men of Marburg did their best to overcome this kind of lethargy, very wide-spread in Germany, and to work for the future quietly and stubbornly. For many of them this was not possible without a

strain that made some of the arguments rather dry and abstract. A German critic of the meeting remarked that he had missed three words in the discussions: Russia, love, and imagination. All we can say to this now is that it is hard indeed and needs almost desperate courage to discuss the rebirth of universities in a society whose economic, political and moral foundations have been exploded and are still awaiting reconstruction.

In the memory of the Swiss visitor only half of the picture is taken by the meeting itself; the rest is filled by a medley of impressions: the brutally straight and efficient Reichsautobahn, punctuated by such drastic warnings as "Death is so permanent!", with numerous American vehicles tearing along, the monotony of the ruins of large and small towns, groups of blind or otherwise invalid students, overcrowded houses long out of repair, empty shop windows often without glass, empty shelves in what can claim the name of book-shop only from what was formerly sold there, pale faces with restless eyes over shabby clothes, rather well-dressed German girls walking out into the country of evenings with carefree American soldiers. Most. revealing of all were the personal contacts we were able to make. I discovered how difficult a visit may prove when I tried to see a well-known professor of chemistry, whose address I had been given in Switzerland. As I found merely ruins where his house and the Chemistry Building were supposed to stand I sought information in the ramshackle post-office, itself hid away in ruins, and was told that he could be found in the cellar of the Chemistry Building. So I returned to the place of my disappointment and finally discovered a chalk scrawl and an arrow on one of the dilapidated walls pointing the way to a door in the basement. Down there I found my man, handling some test-tubes. He at once confessed that it was not real work he was doing as the materials for it were not available. He was depressed, and looked starved. He was a bachelor in his sixties, and evidently lacked the care of a female being that could hunt up food for him all day. We walked over the remains of his fine villa and his place of work. had been destroyed a fortnight before hostilities ceased.

On the next day I paid a visit to a more fortunate man: Professor Max Deutschbein, whose home and whose English Seminar with its splendid library were intact. In spite of his age he was full of energy, and spoke with optimism of his lectures before crowds of students. Two other workers in the field of English literature I met in the course of my journey were Professor Walther Fischer, who intends to work at Marburg in the future since the badly damaged University of Giessen will remain closed, and Professor Friedrich Brie, who is now Dean of the Faculty at Freiburg after having produced a series of admirable literary studies in his years of enforced freedom from teaching duties. These three scholars, as well as the others we met, most heartily welcomed a chance to renew their contacts with the outside world, and they all certainly need encouragement and help if they

are to be equal to their numerous and difficult tasks.

P.S. As a sad appendix to this report we must print the terrible news that Professor Hartshorne was killed on the road near Nuremberg at the end of August while he was travelling from Munich to Marburg. When his car was passing a jeep the fatal shot was fired. It is not clear whether the murderers were drunken revellers or sinister plotters. The renascent universities of the American zone of Germany have lost an untiring, influential and idealistic friend, who possessed an unusual grasp of the European situation. — S.

English Studies in Wartime. Dr. Stamm's account of his visit to Marburg suggests the question of the eventual resumption of international contact in the world of scholarship, a question unfortunately premature as far as Holland and Germany are concerned. Meanwhile, our thoughts go back to the time when we ourselves should have been cut off from contact with the outside world but for the help of our Swiss and Scandinavian colleagues. It is largely owing to them that we were able to carry on without a break till August 1944. Special thanks are due to Dr. Stamm himself, who deputized as editor for Switzerland when Professor Lüdeke had to withdraw his name temporarily on account of his American nationality. The continued support of Swiss Anglicists is all the more to be appreciated as since the confiscation of copies for Switzerland in 1942, they were mostly unable to see their contributions in print. Nor has their interest slackened after the war, as is shown by several numbers of the current volume. If they wish to stand up for international collaboration, they certainly have earned the right to do so. -Z.

Notes on Bang's Edition of "The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green"

Scholars who have occasion to refer to Chettle and Day's *The Blind-Beggar* of Bednal-Green generally use either W. Bang's¹ or A. H. Bullen's² reprint of the only quarto, that of 1659. There is no critical edition. Bullen's version, privately printed for collectors, hardly pretends to be accurate.³ Bang's, however, purports to be

ein genauer Abdruck des Quaritch'schen Textes, der ohne jegliche Veränderung gegeben wurde. Ich glaube von ihr behaupten zu dürfen, dass sie, soweit Menschenwerk sich mit einem rein mechanischen Verfahren überhaupt messen kann, vorteilhaft einen Facsimiledruck ersetzt; wenigstens hat es an der äussersten Sorgfalt nicht gefehlt.4

Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, I (Louvain, 1902).

² The Works of John Day. (London, 1881). The play is available also in the Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. John S. Farmer (Amersham, 1914); but this edition, perhaps because it is a facsimile, is less often cited.

³ Miss M. E. Thompson observed in it "slight alterations in spelling" (Bang, op. cit., ix). It may be added that the punctuation has been more or less regularly modernized and that the antique appearance of the edition is often specious.

It is not unreasonable, therefore, particularly since this edition was intended to provide materials for scholarly study of the drama, to expect it to be exceedingly accurate. Unfortunately, however, it is not. I find in its text sixty-two readings not to be found in the 1659 quarto. Though many are minutiae, they establish that Bang's is not an accurate edition suitable for scholarly purposes.

Eighteen are the admittedly rather unimportant failure to distinguish between roman and italic punctuation points. Now the editor, it is clear, attempts to preserve the distinctions of the quarto in these matters.⁸ In eleven instances, however, he prints "?" where the quarto prints "?" Twice⁸

he prints ":" for ":"; and five times he prints "!" for "!".

A number of the variants introduced by Bang are comparatively simple errors in punctuation. He twice¹⁰ prints periods for what in the quarto are hyphens low in the line. Twice¹¹ he fails to follow the quarto in the use of roman "s" in the possessive of a proper name in italics. He omits hyphens from three hyphenated words,¹² and fails to print three commas¹³ and one apostrophe.¹⁴ Four times he prints commas where the quarto has periods,¹⁵ twice periods where the quarto has another mark.¹⁶ Once¹⁷ he prints a semicolon where the quarto has a comma; once,¹⁸ a comma where the quarto has a semicolon. Twice¹⁹ he separates elements that are run together in the quarto; once,²⁰ runs together words separated in the quarto. Twice²¹ he confuses the lineation of the quarto by not following his usual

⁶ See, for but one example, the two question marks in Bang's line 1609; cf. Q Glv,

line 21 (quarto line numbers include the running title).

⁴ Op. cit., ix.

⁵ My figures are based upon a collation of six copies of the quarto, those in the Heary E. Huntington Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Elizabethan Club of Yale University, the Library of the University of Texas, the Newberry Library, and the British Museum. Of the Huntington copy I used a photostat; of the Texas and Newberry copies, microfilm; and of the British Museum copy, Farmer's facsimile (which represents a second British Museum copy in certain forms).

⁷ Lines 69, B2r9; 91, B2r31; 477, C3r24; after lye, 802, D3r35; after boy, 906, D4v17; 1048, E2v2; 1214, E4v19; after this, 1215, E4v20; 1466, F3v30; after ta, 1610, G1v22; 1770, G3v24.

⁸ In 2201, I1r23; 2226, I1v7.

⁹ In 535, C4r7; 927, D4v38; 1057, E2v11; 1771, G3v25; and 2144, H4v4.

In 562, C4r33; 569, C4r40.
 In 2308, I2v5; 2368, I3r35.

^{*2} home-bred, 845, D3v36; cross legg'd-harti-/choak, 1229f., F2r15f.; and Camp-ball, 2487, E4v38.

¹³ After all, 444, C2v30; lemmon, 461, C3r9; and London, 519, C3v27.

¹⁴ In there's, 1899, H1r34.

¹⁵ After fathers, 841, D3v32; Beef, 844, D3v35; Swash, 1010, E2r2; and fall, 1311, F1v36.

¹⁶ After remorce, 627, D1r20; Stro., 1250, F1r14.

¹⁷ After name, 1143; E3v24.

¹⁸ After to't, 490, C3r37.

¹⁹ as soon, 1719, G3r14; 6 th, st. dir. at beginning of Act V, I2v28.

nightLand-lady, 2608, K2r31.
 At 987, E1v19 and 2563, K1v28.

practice²² of indenting verse lines that require more space than he has available.

Though carefully reproducing many turned letters, Bang silently rights three²³ which are turned in the quarto. One²⁴ he prints as turned when the character is only worn and dirty. Three times²⁵ he fails to reproduce the confusion in the quarto of those most difficult letters, "r" and "t". He fails to follow two misprints²⁶ of the quarto and introduces two²⁷ of his own.

Not simple misprints, I think, but more serious errors are Bang's printing of "are" for "art" and "An" for 'As". These misreadings of a single letter result in the substitution of one word for another and constitute adulterations of the text perhaps as serious as the editor's adding, in another place, a word not present in the copytext. Though Bang's policy is not to supply any missing letters, he has twice added the letter "I".

The unreliability of Bang's edition of *The Blind Beggar* is several times borne out by the textual notes. At B2vl7. (Bang's line 117) we meet the word "despaire" with its final "e", which seems broken, printing but faintly in most copies. Bang prints "despair" and writes the following note: "Hinter despair noch Spuren eines zweiten r, das aber wohl nicht gesetzt war." The character is "e," as an examination of several copies shows; but had it been "r," Bang would have been required by his editorial policy to print it, 33 and he did not. At the top of G3r one meets a problem to which Bang missed the answer though copies of the quarto provide it. The lines read:

Castle, batter'd down the Walls, and taken *Tamberlayn* the blood Prisoner in a pursute, to the utter undoing of all Motion-Mongers and Puppitt-players.

Here the final "s" in the second line was apparently so loose that it moved during the process of printing, sometimes³⁴ appearing below "Monger" and

²² e.g., see 2288.

²³ 626 and, D1r19 aud; 845 Country, D3v36 Conntry; and 1109 unto, E3r25 nnto.

^{24 1861} thon, G4v26 thou.

²⁵ 438 miter, C2v23 mitet; 458 thou, C3r6, rhou ("r" badly worn): and 2093 altered, H3v31 alteted.

E1r14 presence for 943 presence, E4r36 belp for 1193 help.

^{27 84} Walloon for B2r24 Walloon, 1630 Coesar for G2r7 Coesar.

²⁸ 1026, E2r19. Here Bang seems to violate his editorial policy of following his copy-text, the Quaritch copy, even where he knows it has been corrected; for as he says in his note to the line, "in Qla steht *art*; aber in Miss Thompson's Abschrift [of a copy in the British Museum] are. In this reading I suspect that Miss Thompson was in error; Farmer's facsimile, which in this form is from B. M. 644. d. 77, like all other copies known to me, reads "art."

²⁹ 465, C3r13. Bang observes in his note, "n in An nicht ausgedruckt, aber Spuren vorhanden." In all copies known to me, the second character is faint, to be sure, but definitely not "n" and almost certainly "s".

³⁰ me in 289; cf. C2r14.

^{31 &}quot;Was die Lettern selbst anbetrifft, so ist in den Fällen, wo das Zeichen in Qla ganz fehlt, auch im Neudruck eine Lücke ..., ix-x.

³² In shall, 1720, G3r14 and lives, 2023, H1v41.

^{33 &}quot;...halb ausgedruckte Lettern mussten hier als ganz betrachtet werden". x.

sometimes³⁵ appearing so high in the line as to seem to belong to "blood." In Bang's copy it must have been high in the line, for he prints "bloods" and "Monger." These readings, however, were unsatisfactory even to him, as may be inferred from his notes to them. The former error leads him to propose an emendation: "lies bloody, ie." The latter he annotates thus: "es ist Platz da für das vom Context verlangte s."

Because Bang attempted to reproduce one copy of the quarto verbatim et literatim, it may be that the foregoing strictures on his edition will be thought unsound since, particularly in matters of punctuation, characters drop out in the course of printing or sometimes are improperly inked, and therefore may have failed to print in the Quaritch copy. Unfortunately I have been unable to use it for a final check on this study. Most of the variations treated herein, however, can not be explained away as accidental variants in the copy used by Bang. The bulk of them seem to result from errors in the interpretation of the badly printed quarto and of bibliographical evidence. At the risk of being thought pedantic in the worst sense, I have pointed out these errors not so much to place strictures upon one edition of a single play as to illustrate the danger of basing a textual study on too few copies.

Had Bang examined a sufficient number of copies, he would have seen that the quarto, for example, in the passage just treated intends the "s" to belong to "Monger." He might thus have been able to give the true explanation of the reading and to avoid proposing an emendation which is not only unnecessary but also incorrect. Failure to examine sufficient copies accounts, also, for a number of the other errors in this edition.³⁷

Finally, Bang on one page introduces a variant in the running-title.³⁸ This error, doubtless typographical, seems to be of a harmless sort; and I do not know that it has caused anyone trouble. It might, however, particularly if taken in conjunction with some of Bang's reported readings which are not found in any of the copies I have studied,³⁹ have led bibliographers to suspect that the printing of this quarto was more complicated that it probably was.

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³⁴ As in the copies belonging to The Elizabethan Club and the University of Texas Library.

³⁵ As in the Huntington and Newberry copies.

³⁶ 1708, 1709.

Following 841 and 844 Bang prints commas where the quarto has periods. Accordingly he notes, "Die Commata am Ende sind abgesprungen, sodass sie wie Punkte aussehn." That the characters are periods rather than broken commas would doubtless have been apparent had he looked at several copies. Examination of sufficient copies, moreover, would probably have permitted Bang to give a fuller account than he gives of the correction of this quarto during impression.

³⁸ B3r, The Blind-Beggar of Bennal-Green. Bang: Bednall.

I have been unable to see a copy reading "old" for "own" in D2r41, "they have" for "they they have" in D4r22, "thee" for "the" in D1r41, and "gugle eyes" for "gingle boys" in K1r36. See Bang, ix.

A Note on Shelley's Sonnet 'Lift not the painted veil'

In her essay Platonism in Shelley¹ L. Winstanley deals with Shelley's Platonic conception of the heaven-world. She points out that in Plato's as well as in Shelley's opinion the soul 'beholds things as they really and essentially are and not the mere reflections of them which are all that we, in this world of matter, can ever hope to attain.'

In this train of thought life is represented by Shelley as a 'painted veil',

e.g. in Prometheus Unbound:

The painted veil, by those who were, called life, Which mimicked, as with colours idly spread, All men believed or hoped, is torn aside.

P.U., IV. 190-192.

In Adonais (written in 1821) Shelley gives utterance to a cognate idea:

Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep —
He hath awakened from the dream of life —
"Tis we, who lost in stormy visions, keep
With phantoms an unprofitable strife,
And in mad trance, strike with our spirit's knife
Invulnerable nothings.

Adonais, XXXIX, 343-348.

And again in the same poem:

Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass, Stains the white radiance of Eternity, Until Death tramples it to fragments.

Adonais, LII, 462-464.

Miss Winstanley states that 'we find this conception in scores of passages in Shelley.'

Now it also occurs in a sonnet written by Shelley in 1818, in which the poet elaborated this image and which is a remarkable background to the above lines, especially to those quoted from *P.U.*

Shelley says that one should not lift 'the painted veil which those who live call Life'; that unreal shapes are pictured there and 'with colours idly spread' it 'mimics all we would believe.' So here we find almost the identical words of P.U. Behind the veil, however, lurk Fear and Hope. Then the poet says he knew one — obviously Shelley himself — who had lifted the veil. The tender-hearted man sought 'things to love', but, alas, in vain. He could approve of nothing in the world. Like 'a splendour among shadows, a bright blot upon this gloomy scene' he moved 'through the unheeding crowd', a Spirit that strove for truth 'and like the Preacher found it not.'

So in the conclusion of the poem Shelley strikes a rather pessimistic note and thus this sonnet is a curious mixture of Platonic philosophy and romantic melancholy, not to say world-weariness. The most striking thing, however, is that in 1819 Shelley when composing P.U. was still haunted by the image of 'the painted veil' he had used in his sonnet of 1818.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1913, p. 81.

The Hague.

L. VERKOREN.

Review

Parts added to The Mirror for Magistrates, by John Higgins & Thomas Blenerhasset. Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library by Lily B. Campbell. xii + 512 pages. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1946. 42 s. net.

Professor Lily B. Campbell has continued the good work of editing the Mirror for Magistrates by giving us the additions made to this collection by Higgins and Blenerhasset. The title of this second volume is an indication of her clear approach to the problems of the involved printing history of the work. One may gauge the extent of the confusion existing in the various early editions by a few merely outward facts. The two works now collected in this new edition were published in 1574 and 1578 as the first and second parts of the Mirror, to distinguish them from the original first and second parts (1559 and 1563) which became collectively the last part. With this precedent one does not marvel that in the seventeenth century the first and second parts were combined into one first part, while the last part was made the second in a volume consisting now of four parts.

More or less paradoxically, Miss Campbell has brought admirable order into this chaos by editing the last or second part first. The growth of the original volume can thus be seen almost at a glance. Planned at first as a continuation of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, this original Mirror dealt with comparatively modern history, beginning at the time of Richard II. This justified in the contemporary view the publication of "tragedies" treating the earlier history of Britain, as parts to be prefixed to the Mirror. In accordance with the historical development Miss Campbell has now brought out these later additions in a supplementary volume so that it is possible with its aid to piece together any of the editions up to 1587.

One cannot but join Miss Campbell in her praise of the fundamental soundness of Trench's decision to regard these additions merely as works influenced by the Mirror. One does not need Trench's impressive list of other imitations 2 to appreciate his view. The difference between the early Mirror and the later additions is unmistakable. Partly this is the inevitable result of the fact that Higgins and Blenerhasset wrote by themselves, while Baldwin's compilation is the work of various authors. Yet one must not underestimate this difference, if only because it makes Baldwin's Mirror far more representative of its period than the additions. Besides, there is the greater variety and personal appeal of Baldwin's design which is definitely attractive in comparison with what the later poets made of it. But there is a more fundamental difference that is formulated by Miss Campbell as one between the teaching of "political" and "ethical" virtue, in the

The Mirror for Magistrates edited by Lily B. Campbell. C.U.P., 1938. (Reviewed in E. S. vol. XXI, 1939, p. 220.)
 W. F. Trench, The Mirror for Magistrates (Edinburgh) 1898. Chapter VIII.

sixteenth century sense of the words. Here caution is advisable because what is involved in either case is the conception of the world as a whole. This conception is much nearer to the medieval than Miss Campbell would have us believe. But apart from that the personal emphasis of Higgins, or the more religious attitude of Blenerhasset must be conceived within the impersonal and teleological world-picture of the early Elizabethan age, which is after all, in a way, the justification of these tragedies. With this proviso the distinction stands and is suggestive of more general trends in the period.

One studies the *Mirror* in the first place because it is a valuable echo of the Elizabethan mind, and full of material for comparison with poets whose music rings more clearly through the mists of time. One is fully prepared to take to heart the advice in Higgins's first tragedy:

let nothing thee amase:
Ne haue dispaire of so vncoutched ryme.

On the whole Higgins wrote a rather careless verse, a defect for which quantity is no compensation. But when he has time to listen to his muse he can cease to pedestrianize. His description of "fame" (p. 67) is a notable paraphrase of Virgil; in Morindus and the dragon (p. 187) a Spenserian episode just fails to come to life, but the imaginative treatment of Cordila's end rises above the defects of split infinitive and irregular verse. The metre is, as in the Mirror itself, mainly rime royal. Three tragedies in four-line stanzas were re-written in the prevailing form for the edition of 1587. Higgins has a tendency to drop from five-foot into six-foot lines, a tendency that is sometimes systematized in couplets at the end of the stanza. Caesar is written in an eight-line alexandrine stanza that is an elaboration of the rime royal.

Blenerhasset is less extreme in his defects and merits than Higgins. He writes on the whole sound but mediocre poetry, with a tendency to overalliteration. Unlike Higgins he retained the system of prose-links from his model, and these "inductions" as he called them, are not uninteresting dialogues between Memory and Inquisition. One of them, the seventh, contains a notable discussion of the defects of rime, in connection with the preceding tragedy of Cadwallader, an experiment in blank verse alexandrines.

Miss Campbell has stated her aims in the first volume, when she said: "This edition ... is being published, not with the hope of settling the problems of its printing history, or its literary or political significance, but only with the hope that the accessibility of the rare and scattered material may make possible further research ..." Consequently there are no notes or similar aids that one might otherwise expect. Neither is there an index, a convenience that would have been more than useful in a collection of this type. But one has to set a limit to one's activities, and Miss Campbell has restricted herself to an introduction, in this volume one for each "part added". These introductions are excellent and serve their purpose admirably. Most interesting are the remarks on Higgins's printing devices. He uses quotes in the modern manner and adopts an asterisk for the purpose

of bringing out the sententiae. This is unmistakably illustrated by a passage where both devices are applied. I further noted a clever observation on the use of the name Blenernasset by which she may have succeeded in locating the poet in the Cambridge register. I was slightly surprised to see Blenerhasset singled out for his use of rhetorical devices, though he may apply the figures more consistently than Higgins, who by no means despises their aid. The remark is, however, in the right perspective, one of those touches that reveal how much more Miss Campbell could have told us, had she wanted to.

The amount of patient research and unrelenting industry that has gone to the making of this edition is already considerable. But with the appearance of this second volume our hopes have been raised that Miss Campbell will give us the Mirror complete with the seventeenth century additions. She has convinced us that the distintegration of the work, already visible in this volume, is completed by Niccols. Nevertheless the development of the Mirror is a fascinating process and one would like to be able to follow it to the final stage. There is no need to emphasize that the only "modern" edition is dated 1815, and is almost as rare as the old copies themselves. Rather do we appeal to Miss Campbell because her work is up to the highest standards, because it means an advance in Elizabethan scholarship, and because the C.U.P. adds lustre to it by the beautiful appearance of the volumes.

Groningen.

J. SWART.

Brief Mention

Richard Crashaw. Di Mario Praz. 200 pp. Brescia: Morcelliana. 1946. L. 170.—

Since Coleridge professed to have found in Crashaw the prototype, perhaps even the first thought, of the *Christabel*, the fame of this lonely poet, whom Pope still admired, but who was entirely forgotten in the time of Johnson, has been steadily growing, and finally, in the course of the nineteenth century, he gradually supplanted Spenser as "the poet's poet". But the idol of the poets remained a puzzle for the critics. The most noteworthy attempt at a solution came from the pen of an Italian. Mario Praz published his studies of Donne and Crashaw in 1925 under the comprehensive title of Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra 1. The book was very favourably received both in England and in America. The author himself was carried by his studies of Crashaw on to the vast expanse of Emblem-literature in the seventeenth century; and he gave a first instalment of his findings and soundings in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, vol. I (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 3)2. This was in 1939. In the meantime the Clarendon Press had provided a

¹ Reviewed in this periodical, Vol. VIII (1926), 24-27.

² An Italian version, entitled Studi sul Concettismo (Firenze: Sansoni, 1946. L. 400.) has just appeared.

critical edition of Crashaw's poems with a biographical Introduction by L. C. Martin. And several critical studies came from America. Ruth Wallerstein offered A Study in Style and Poetic Development and Austin Warren A Study in Baroque Sensibility 3; several other studies appeared in periodicals. Their approach to Crashaw was on the whole widely different from that of Praz. They tried to understand Crashaw mainly through the Emblems current at the time. Praz confronted him with Shelley and Swinburne, with Keats and Thompson. Praz's view has proved to be the most illuminating and the most fruitful. In a few details he appeared to have been mistaken or incomplete. Praz has considered all those details very carefully, and the result is this new edition of the second part of the work published in 1925; it is practically a reprint of the whole text; the alterations do not amount to more than two or three pages. So the work is up to date again, and it is what it was: the most instructive and most interesting critical study of Crashaw's poetry that we have.

Nijmegen.

A. POMPEN, O.F.M.

Books Received

Shakespeare's Sonnets. By B. A. Mackenzie. x + 81 pp. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Ltd. 1946. 7s. 6d.

La Poesia Metafisica Inglese del Seicento. John Donne. Di Mario Praz. 173 pp. Roma: Edizioni Italiani. 1945. L. 400.—.

Studi sul Concettismo. Di Mario Praz. (Biblioteca Sansoniana Critica, ix.) vii + 321 pp. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni. 1946. L. 400.—.

Il Dramma Elisabettiano. Webster — Ford. Di Mario Praz. 308 pp. [n.d.] L.600.—.

The Works of Michael Drayton. Edited by the late J. WILLIAM HEBEL. Vol. V. Introductions, Notes, Variant Readings. Edited by K. TILLOTSON and B. H. NEWDIGATE. xxx + 316 pp. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1941.

Paradise Lost. Some Comments by Douglas Bush. ix + 117 pp. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1945. London, Cumberlege, 1946. 10s. 6d.

Milton and the Renaissance Ovid. By D. P. Harding. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXX, No. 4). 105 pp. Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press. 1946. \$1.50.

Modern Autobiography. An Anthology. Selected and Edited by Frederick T. Wood, B.A., Ph.D. ix + 245 pp. London: Macmillan & Co. 1946.

Katherine Mansfield. Life and Stories. By Anne Friis. 183 pp. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard. 1946. Dan. Cr. 5.50.

Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language. By C. C. Fries. (Publications of the English Language Institute, University of Michigan, Number 1.) vii \pm 153 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1945.

⁸ Rev. by M. Praz in this periodical, Vol. XXIV (Febr. 1942).

Basic English

What it is claimed to be:

Basic was originally "an attempt to give everyone a second or international language". It has a vocabulary of 850 words and a grammar of about seven rules. For a full description of *Basic* in Basic as published by the Basic Sales-Organization see Appendix.

At a later stage Basic was claimed to be a preliminary step to Standard

or "Complete" English.1

What it is:

(Critical Examination of Basic English)

Contents:

1) Basic is not Standard English.

- 2) It is not a possible first step towards Standard English.
- 3) Its Vocabulary is considerably larger than 850 words.4) Basic discards 400 of the Commonest English Words.

5) Basic uses unintelligible and illegitimate stretches of English Words.2

6) Very few Englishmen will ever study it seriously because it is too difficult for English-speaking people to acquire.

7) Conclusion.

I. Basic is not Standard English.

Evidence A:

The inventors of this language themselves state that it is not a limited or simplified form of Standard English, but a new and special sort of English syntactically different from it, so different indeed that either can be translated into the other. The following extracts from the writings of the authors confirm this, and are in the nature of definitions of the name or descriptions of the scheme.

850 words scientifically selected to form an Auxiliary International Language, i.e. a second language (in science, commerce and travel) for all who do not already speak English.³

The primary object of this dictionary is to provide Translators with Basic equivalents for all the words of Standard English.⁴

Adolph Meyers, Basic and the Teaching of English in India, p. 51.

11

The Basic Way to English, Book I, p. 1.

² Stretch = the extension of a given word in point of (a) form, (b) function, or (c) meaning.

⁸ Basic English, 1930, p. 7.

⁴ The Basic Dictionary, p. v.

Standard English words are translated by their Basic equivalents.⁵

Measurements, Numerals, Currency, Calendar and International Terms in English form.6

Our aim [Context shows that "our" does not here refer to the authors of Basic, but to all who prepare word lists for the use of foreign students] may be to equip students with a selection of the language (say, English) in its normal form. But we may wish instead to give them a minimum mnemonic apparatus which, with a specially selected syntax and special principles of definition and collocation-building, will serve a maximum of uses. This is the aim of Basic English as a world auxiliary language. It is clear that the two aims are in no way in opposition. Each, indeed, as it develops further will assist the other.

Evidence B:

§ I. Basic contains only 18 verbs, whereas in Standard English (as in other languages probably without exception) verbs stand in a proportion of from one quarter to one third of its total vocabulary. It is the lack of this proportion of verbs more than anything else that forces Basic to use the syntactical devices that differentiate it from Standard English.

Basic knows "derivates" in -ed and -ing from 300 nouns, which do the work of verbs. The verb to judge does not exist in Basic and so ,,he judges" is not within its scope. The work of he judges is done by the form "he is judging". This form and the form "has been judged" are considered legitimate Basic on account of the derivatives in -ing and -ed from the noun judge. Some of the circumlocutions rendered necessary by this lack of verbs, are given in section VI of this critical examination. They form one of the difficulties that prevent English-speaking people from acquiring proficiency in Basic.

One quotation from the Gospel of St. John may suffice as an illustration:

Basic Version

Original Version

St. John 3:18

The man who has faith in him does not come up to be judged; but he who has no faith in him has been judged even now, because he has no faith in the name of the only Son of God.8

St. John 3:18

He that believeth in him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.

§ II. The total vocabulary (of both "Basic words" and "words used in Basic") contains far too few structural words. The omission of such words does not diminish but actually increases the difficulty inherent to the learning of foreign languages. The smallness of their number

⁶ Rule 7 of Basic English as printed on the copyrighted sheet.

The New Testament in Basic: Cambridge University Press and Evans Bros. Ltd.

⁵ Ibid., p. xx.

⁷ I. A. Richards, joint author of *Basic*, in his Foreword to the Second *Interim Report* on Vocabulary Selection, I.R.E.T., Tokyo, 1930.

contributes in some measure to the strangeness of much that is written in Basic.

Basic does not know the words

already many also must cannever few

perhaps shall

The number of missing structurals is about 100.

Only one instance of the sort of language the discarding of these structurals leads to is given here from the Gospel of St. John:

Basic Version

St. John 3:4

How is it possible for a man to be given How can a man be born when he is is old? birth when he is old? Is he able to go into Can he enter the second time into his his mother's body a second time and come mother's womb and be born? to birth again?

Original Version

St. John 3:4

§ III. Basic uses compounds and expressions that are not standard English, e.g.:

> To do music.9 Put the dress flat. (= to iron)10 Take forward designs.11 Glassing the top.12 Make the wound healthy.13 Give the flowers a smell.14 One of them (the wax lights) got on to the curtains (=set them on fire).15 At the join of the two rivers. 16 Take the hair off his face (shave).17 The unexperienced back of a young girl. 18 The postman gave the brass door piece a little touch.19 You will see her in the natural (= naked)20 I put out of mind $(= I \text{ forget})^{21}$

Evidence C:

Basic Versions

St. John 3:29

He who has the bride is the husband: but the husband's friend, whose place is by his side and whose ears are open to him, is full of joy because of the husband's voice: such is my joy and it is complete.

Original Versions

St. John 3:29

He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoices greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled.

¹⁰ ibid., p. 27; 11 ibid., p. 28; 12 ibid., p. 31; The Basic Words, p. 21; 15 Brighter Basic, p. 16; 18 Basic by examples, 18 ibid., p. 73; 19 ibid., p. 103; 20 ibid., 13 ibid., p. 35; 14 ibid., p. 74; p. 59; 17 Carl and Anna, p. 28; p. 121; 21 Basic Dictionary.

3:33

He who so takes his witness has made clear his faith that God is true.

E. A. Poe, The Gold Bug.

"You're in an unhealthy condition, and..."
"Take the rate of my heart," he said.

I took it, and truly it seemed quite normal. "But you may be ill without much change in your heart. Let me say what you'd better do. First, go to bed. Second..."

As I was taking it, the deep-throated voice of a dog came to our ears, and then the sound of nails on the door. Jupiter went to it, and a great Newfoundland dog of Legrand's came loudly in, got its feet up on my arms, and kept putting its nose against me in a loving way; for I had given it much attention at other times.

The other day he got away before sun-up, and he was gone all the day long. I got a stick ready cut to put across him when he did come — but I'm so soft, I hadn't a mind to, after all — he seemed so bad."

"You foolish old man!" said Legrand, a weight now taken from his mind, "why do you say such foolish things? If that insect gets dropped, you'll get your neck broken. D'you see, Jupiter!"

"Yes, Master Will, no need to make all that noise at a poor black man."

"What on earth will I do?" said Legrand greatly troubled

I kept at the work without a stop, and now and then I made the discovery that I was even ready to see the secret gold (the idea of which had sent my poor friend out of his mind) as if I might come across it

Jupiter put his arms and knees about the great round body as tightly as possible, got a grip of some knots with his hands and put his toes on others, and in the end he got himself into the first great fork. On the way he had two or three times almost had a fall

3:33

He that hath received this testimony hath set to his seal that God is true.

"You are feverish and --"

"Feel my pulse," said he.

I felt it, and, to say the truth, found not the slightest indication of fever.

"But you may be ill and yet have no fever. Allow me this once to prescribe for you. In the first place, go to bed. In the next—"

As I received it a loud growl was heard, succeeded by scratching at the door. Jupiter opened it, and a large Newfoundland, belonging to Legrand, rushed in, leaped upon my shoulders, and loaded me with caresses; for I had shown him much attention during previous visits.

The other day he gave me the slip before the sun was up and was gone the whole of the blessed day. I had a big stick ready cut to give him a deuced good beating when he did come — but I am such a fool that I had not the heart after all — he looked so very poorly."

"You infernal scoundrel!" cried Legrand, apparently much relieved, "what do you mean by telling me such nonsense as that? As sure as you drop that beetle I'll break your neck! Look here, Jupiter, do you hear me?"

"Yes, massa, needn't hollo at poor nigger dat style."

"What in the name of heaven shall I do?" asked Legrand, seemingly in the greatest distress.

I dug eagerly, and now and then I caught myself actually looking with something that very much resembled expectation, for the fancied treasure, the vision of which had demented my unfortunate companion.

Embracing the huge cylinder as closely as possible, with his arms and knees, seizing with his hands some projections, and resting his naked toes upon others, Jupiter, after one or two narrow escapes from falling, at length wriggled himself into the first great fork

The reading of any Basic text will afford sufficient enlightenment. The New Testament in Basic is especially recommended for further study. The trouble with Basic is that it has the support of influential non-linguists who have never given it sufficient attention, and is opposed by linguists who have made a careful study of it, but who have little influence.

But Basic should not be judged by the texts composed by experts, but by texts composed by ordinary people who try to write or to speak it with

the help of the Basic Dictionary and the Basic Books:

Basic as Non-Experts Would Write It

She got the number of the names of the persons of whom her married man ²² had requested the company at the important meal of the day that nightfall. Then she made a start to get worked up and said to him: "What is your purpose in requesting the company of such a number? I am not able to give them much food to take. They will be able to have a vessel of meat and garden produce; that is all." — Mr. Jones was upright near the window: he was not giving ear to his married woman. He had taken a midday meal of great weight and he needed to go and be stretched on his bed.

The servant of the church said it was very kind of the women of good birth to help him in making the meeting of friends come off so well.

The person in military authority was the guide of (went first with) his men in the army against the nation at war, but the not-friends kept solidly upright.

I went driving in an automobile and it gave a blow to an animal that says "hee haw". By happy chance no one was damaged; but the animal was put to death.

Same Text in a Certain 1000word English Vocabulary

She counted the names of the people her husband had asked to dinner that evening. Then she began to get excited and said to him: "What do you mean by asking so many! — I can't give them much to eat. They can have a dish of meat and vegetables: — that is all." — Mr. Jones was standing near the window: he was not listening to his wife. He had eaten a heavy lunch and he wanted to go and lie down.

The priest thanked the ladies for their help in making the party so successful.

The officer led his soldiers against the enemy, but the enemy stood firm.

I went for a drive in a car, and it hit a donkey. Luckily no one was hurt; but the donkey was killed.

II. Basic is not a Step towards Standard English.

To make good its claim that Basic is a step to Standard English it must be proved conclusively:

(a) that there is no marked gap between the Basic vocabulary and that of the simplest form of Standard English;

²² Husband, count, etc. are not in the Basic vocabulary. The equivalents "Married man", "Get the number of." etc. have been taken from the Basic Dictionary. "Husband" seems to be one of the 200 extra words added to Basic for the sake of the N.T. in Basic.

(b) that Basic word-usage differs little from that of Standard English;

(c) that Basic is easier to learn than simple Standard English.

But none of these three conditions is fulfilled. After an expenditure of learning-effort at least as great as that required for Standard English the student is unable to understand Standard English either in its spoken or written forms. This statement is proved in the following sections.

III. The Basic Vocabulary is Considerably Larger than 850 Words.

Considerable stress is laid on the number 850. The inventors of Basic English themselves show, however, that the number is considerably higher. In Basic English (1930) p. 7 we find:

The vocabulary is designed to deal with two distinct levels:

 It contains the 850 words by means of which ordinary communication in idiomatic English can be effected

By the addition of 100 words required for general science, and 50 for a particular science, it provides a total of 1,000 by means of which any scientific congress or periodical can achieve internationalism.

In the Basic Vocabulary (1930) p. 8, it is said, however:

The General Vocabulary of 850 words is expanded by supplementary vocabularies of 50 words for any special field which requires them.

and on pag. 17:

To this end a further 150 words, bringing the vocabulary [of 850 words] up to 1,000 are put at the disposal of scientists and technicians 100 of the extra words are general science words; the other 50 are designed to cover a single specialized field.

and on p. 19:

The more obvious specialized fields are those of the recognized sciences — Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Mathematics, Psychology, etc.

For the new "specialized field" represented by The New Testament in Basic English 200 extra words were put at the disposal of the translators. For every new specialized field, then, a supplementary vocabulary of from 50 to 200 words is provided. If, then, such new fields as Commerce, Industry, Diplomacy, Law, Banking, Medical Practice, Travel, etc. are contemplated, provision for them may double or triple the original figure of 850.

| The "First Level" Stage | 850 | 850 |
|---|-----|-------|
| "Separate Lists": | | |
| "Numerals, Fractions, Frequentatives, Names of the months and days" | | |
| (The Basic Words, p. 96) | 50 | 900 |
| "International Words and Names" used in Basic | 76 | 976 |
| "Onomatopoeic Words" used in Basic | 17 | 993 |
| "Supplementary Words" of the Basic New Testament | 200 | 1,193 |

| "Supplementary words" for General Science | 100 | 1.293 |
|--|-----|-------|
| Extra vocabularies of 50 words each for, say, 8 specialized fields of | | -, |
| Science | 400 | 1.693 |
| Extra vocabularies of 50 words each for, say, 6 other specialized fields | 200 | 1.993 |

Thus a grand total of at least 1,993 "Basic Words" and "Words used in Basic" to make good the claim that vith Basic everything can be expressed which is expressed in Standard English.²³

IV Basic Discards 400 of the Commonest English Words

Very many of the commonest words used to name or describe actions, objects and substances, even those of the highest frequency and widest range, are excluded from *Basic*, thereby making it necessary to find cumbrous or inadequate paraphrases for them. The compilers of various schemes of vocabulary selection and simplified texts state that their vocabularies include most of the commonest and most useful English words. No such statement is made of *Basic* by its inventors. On the contrary they claim as one of the chief advantages of *Basic* that it does not contain many of the commonest words.²⁴

A complete list of essential and most frequent English words that Basic has discarded would run to about 400 items. We give here a handful of the most striking examples:

| already | perhaps | forget | sit |
|---------|---------|----------|------------|
| also | shall | lay | stand |
| always | ask | leave | stay |
| can | become | usten | tell |
| few | bring | read | understand |
| тапу | buy | remember | want |
| may | call | ride | chair |
| must | die | rise | home |
| never | eat | set | people |
| | | | husband |
| | | | wife |

It must not be assumed, however, that those of the 1000 commonest English words that do occur in Basic, occur to the extent they do in normal schemes of Vocabulary Selection or Limitation. Break in such a scheme is deemed to include broke, broken, breakable, outbreak and breakdown. In Basic this is not so. The 600 commonest English words that occur in Basic are wing-clipped and curtailed to the utmost degree. There are at least 600 common forms, compounds and derivatives of these 600 Basic words that the Basician does not know. A few may follow here:

That the actual number exceeds this figure is shown in section V
See C. K. Ogden, The Panoptic Method, and L. W. Lockhart, Word Economy.

Basic Word

Word Unknown to the Basician

ability able to enable, etc. to agree agreement to disagree agreeable, etc. to amuse amusement amusing to burn a burn burnt to care (for) care careful careless, etc. to cook cook to destroy destruction to differ different difference national nation nationality international, etc. (to) please pleasure

(to) please
pleasing
to displease
publish
publisher
publication

publicity etc.

etc.

public

V. Basic Uses Unintelligible and Illegitimate Stretches of English Words.²⁵

A. Stretches in themselves not illegitimate but unintelligible to the foreign Learner.

When reading the New Testament in Basic it is frequently necessary to have recourse to the original text in order to unriddle the Basic rendering. Great ingenuity is displayed in making words serve double or triple purpose without any regard for the illegitimate difficulty this offers to the non-English-speaking reader. To render

The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up
by
I am on fire with passion for your house 26

^{25 &}quot;Stretch" = The extension of a given word in point of (a) form, (b) function, or (c) meaning. Thus gave and gift are stretches of give, unhappiness of happy, and get (in get up) of get (in get something). Give up (= yield or abandon) is a stretch of both give and up.

[&]quot;Illegitimate Stretch": to give him as a stretch of he is considered legitimate, but to give she, it, they, theirs etc. as stretches of he is considered illegitimate for purposes of word-statistics.

²⁶ St. John 2:17.

may seem a legitimate stretch of the word fire, but is it?

In the first place the expression on fire is an idiom which does not belong to the Basic vocabulary. The Basic Vocabulary does not contain any idioms at all. Yet, Basic uses thousands of idioms which are of "new word difficulty" and do not make any sense at all for the foreign reader.

In the second place the expression I am on fire is a double idiom as it is used figuratively. For the foreigner who does not happen to have the same expression with the same meaning in his native tongue it is unintelligible. A Frenchman, Dutchman, German or a Malayan student might understand the house is on fire, but they can make head nor tail of I am on fire, which they will translate respectively by:

je suis sur feu, ik ben op vuur, ich bin auf Feuer, ada di-atas api.

This proves that *Basic* contains expressions that are unintelligible even if the words of which they are composed figure in the *Basic* vocabulary, so that there is infinitely more to be learnt about it than the *Basic* sales literature gives cause to suspect.

We give here a few stretches of words found in *Basic* books which are legitimate, but do not belong to the *Basic* vocabulary. They do not convey any sense to the foreigner and practically constitute new words:

I take it = presume
that will do = answer the purpose
what are you getting at? = do you mean
The note went like this = ran thus
she went red = blushed
this business is going to make me
= make my fortune

I put in = interposed
by ourselves = alone
done in = dead
be under a cloud = out of favour,
discredited.

come about = happen
get a line on = information about
hanging about = loiter about
have a go at = turn at doing something
here's to him! = let's drink his health
make a point of = regard as essential
on no account = certainly not
put things together = understand
put up with = bear
worked up = excited.

B. Illegitimate Stretches.

There are several varieties of these:

1. Words wrongly assumed to be inflected forms of other words.

In ordinary vocabulary accountancy *I* and *me* are counted as one word, as are such pairs as *my* and *mine*, *we* and *us*, *this* and *these*, *go* and *went*, *child* and *children*, but *Basic* is the only system that looks upon e.g. *theirs* as part of the word *he*.

it, its she her, hers they, them, their, theirs my, mine

assumed to be inflected forms of he

assumed to be inflected forms of I

my, mine we, us, our, ours

| into | assumed | to | be | inflected | form | of | in |
|----------------|---------|----|----|-----------|-------|----|--------|
| better best | assumed | to | be | inflected | forms | of | good |
| less least | assumed | to | be | inflected | forms | of | little |
| more most | assumed | to | be | inflected | forms | of | much |
| what | assumed | to | be | inflected | form | of | which |

2. Words wrongly assumed to be compounds of other words.

```
assumed to be composed of a
                                           and way
away
become
                             **
                    **
today
                                    " to
                                            **
                                               day
              **
tonight
                                    " to
                                            " night
without
                                    " with " out
```

3 Members of Homonyms counted as one word.

Words that are usually or more logically reckoned as independent words and not semantic varieties of other words. Such stretches are never allowed in other systems of vocabulary limitation; most of these take care not to include under one entry any such pairs of words.

```
let (allow)
air (atmosphere)
                                         let (a house)
air (manner)
                                         meal (e.g. dinner)
arm (limb)
arm (weapon)
                                         meal (powdered grain)
balance (equipoise)
                                         no (not a)
bank balance
                                         no (contrary of yes)
blow (hit)
                                         spring (season)
blow (wind)
                                         spring (of watch)
chest (box)
                                         spring (leap)
chest (breast)
                                         spring (well)
clothes
cloth - cloths
                                         stop (of organ)
condition (state)
                                         that (conj.)
condition (stipulation)
                                         that (adj. and pronoun)
dear (loved)
                                         there (in that place)
dear (expensive)
                                         there (in there is)
 flight (of bird, escape)
                                         to (infinitive particle)
flight of stairs
                                         to (preposition)
iron
                                         train (railway)
iron (flat-)
                                         train (teach)
land
                                         very (exceedingly)
landing (of stairs)
                                         very (adjective)
```

C. Compounds of Basic Words, Constituting new Words.

The following words occur in Basic as they are assumed to be living compounds of their component parts:

| bluebell | taken | as | a | compound | of | blue | and | bell |
|-----------------|-------|-----|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|---------|
| buttercup | 23 | ** | 9.9 | ** | ** | butter | ** | сир |
| cupboard | 9.9 | 93 | ,, | ** | 2.5 | cup | ** | board |
| headway | 99 | 2.0 | .99 | ** | 9.9 | head | ** | way |
| quicksilver | -9 | ** | 93 | ** | ** | quick | 9.5 | silver |
| sideboard | 2.5 | 99 | 91 | 39 | 29 | side | 99 | board |
| straightforward | 2.5 | 91 | ,, | ** | 29 | straight | 9.9 | forward |
| sweetheart | 22 | 22 | 11 | 22 | 99 | sweet | 99 | heart |
| underhand | 21 | 99 | 12 | 22 | 59 | under | ** | hand |
| undertake | 22 | ,, | 22 | 22 | 99 | under | 90 | take |
| uptake | ** | 23 | 2.9 | ** | 2.2 | ир | | take |
| well-off | 99 | 93 | 2.5 | 22 | 9.9 | well | 9.0 | off |
| whereas | 22 | 22 | 11 | ** | | where | | as |
| windfall | 19 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | wind | ** | fall |
| etc. | | | | ** | | | •• | |

VI. Basic is too Difficult for the Average Englishman to speak.

It may here be noted that the foreigner needs not only to make himself understood but also to understand what English people say, and English people do not speak *Basic* English. Indeed we have no evidence that anybody speaks *Basic*, although the language was invented sixteen years ago.

Basic English is a very difficult vocabulary for an English-speaking person to use — as it excludes so many of the most ordinary words which one expects to find in a vocabulary of its size; moreover it expresses ideas in such a peculiar and unexpected way. For these reasons we do not believe that any large body of English-speaking people will go to the trouble of learning it — or will succeed in using it accurately.

Basic is decidedly more difficult to learn than Standard English because of the exceptional stretches of meaning and usage that are given to Basic words, the compounds and circumlocutions that have to be devised to compensate for the poverty of its vocabulary, and the greater dissimilarity between Basic and other languages than between Standard English and

other languages.

An English planter in Malaya or India or an American oil expert in Russia wishing to converse in Basic with his Malayan, Indian or Russian employee, may not use the word count. He may not say "Listen!" Nor may he say kill. He can use neither husband nor wife; he cannot say thank you! He cannot use the words stand, mean, many, hot, heavy or good-bye. Instead he must use awkward circumlocutions as:

ask
count
each
eat
enemy
evening
fast
game
God
good-bye

make a request, put a question get the number of every (one) take food one who is not a friend, nation at war nightfall, night quick play, competition, amusement Father of All, First Cause so long, good day, good night

heavy hit holiday home hot hurt husband kill lead (v) lie (v) like (v) listen live (inhabit) many mean stand success tell thank wife

of great weight give a blow free time, time off, time of rest house, living-place warm, heated do pain, do damage married man put to death go first, be the guide be stretched on, be on, resting on be pleased with, have a taste for give ear, attention be living good chance, happy chance a number have the sense of get on feet, be upright turning out well, doing well say, give (story) it is very kind (good) of you married woman

rough, in natural condition, hard to get near, out of control

In other words: an English-speaking person will have to learn the whole of the Basic Dictionary by heart in order to know what particular clumsy Basic circumlocutions are prescribed for the easy and colloquial Standard English words that suggest themselves to him but which Basic will not allow him

And this is a task the average Englishman or American will not undertake and in which he is likely to fail if he tries.27

VII. Conclusion.

wild

Herewith we think we have proved that Basic cannot substantiate its claim that its vocabulary and special syntax-system can serve the purposes of

²⁷ I had already written the above, when someone connected with the British Embassy at The Hague sent me an article in which there was a passage containing a confirmation of my assertion. I quote:

"This planned English shares the fault of much other planning. It is a variant of the old, the intriguing pastime of teaching one's grandmother to suck eggs"

[&]quot;But the real difficulty about Basic English, it seems to me, is that it could never be learned by anyone who knew any English already, or had learned it, as the Englishman learns it, and as the majority of foreigners learn it too, by picking it up in conversation and reading. If I talk English with a foreigner, I talk as simply as I can, and use words with which I expect that he is familiar. But how can I remember that I can talk about blowing my nose but not about shaving my beard, or that complex is a permissible word but that difficult is not? If I talk about taking the hair from my chin the foreigner will be the first to be astonished. Which of us has not been put to shame by the logic, the careful choice of words, the distinction with which the foreigner uses the English language? He respects his own language, and would be surprised if asked to use fantastic circumlocutions to express a common practice or a simple thought.

(a) an International Auxiliary Language, and (b) a preliminary stage in the learning of Standard English. Basic would fulfil this purpose provided that the necessary modifications were made to remove the outstanding weaknesses of the scheme as it now stands. But with these modifications it would no longer be the Basic as planned by Ogden and Richards; it would be a Basic Standard English as envisaged by those various individuals and bodies who have for so many years specialized on the subject—and it would be easier to teach and to learn.

When, in 1943, Mr. Winston Churchill expressed his opinion that a limited English vocabulary might well serve the purposes of an International language. Palmer was consulted. He suggested that the following

modifications be made in Basic English:

1. An adequate number of verbs should be added to the 18 that are already there, and the noun-form of verbs already in *Basic* (e.g. pull, push) should be recognized also as verbs. This would add little to the learning-burden of the student, for whatever difficulty lies in the learning of verbs is qualitative rather than quantitative. Once the principles of verb-usage have been taught for the 18 *Basic* verbs, they may be applied to any number of verbs. The number of irregular verb inflections in English is small compared with those of other national languages.

2. The number of Structural Words should be increased by about 100.

3. The compounds and expressions that are not Standard English should

be replaced by Standard English equivalents.

4. The number of content-words should be increased. The names of common, especially "picturable" objects constitute a learning-burden hardly greater than personal and place-names which are assumed to constitute no learning-burden at all.

By Whom and How can such Modifications be Made?

'These modifications have been tentatively made by the technical committee nominated by the Conference on Vocabulary Selection convened under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation in 1934-5 and embodied in their Interim Report.²⁸ This Report specifies about 2,000 (Caption-) words as a minimum "General Service Vocabulary" to which may be added about 500 words for Special Purposes. A "Final" Report compiled by a similar technical committee seems to be called for.

Bilthoven.

H. Bongers.

²⁸ Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection, King & Son, Lordon, 1936.

Appendix

The following is a description (in Basic) of Basic English, published by the Basic Sales Organization.

Basic English is an attempt to give to eve., one a second or international language, which will take as little of the learner's time as possible.

It is a system in which everything may be said for all purposes of everyday existence: the common interests of men and women, general talks, trade and science.

To the eye and ear it will not seem in any way different from normal English, which is now the natural language, or the language of the Governments, of more than 500.000.000 persons,

There are only 850 words in the complete list, which may be clearly printed on one side of a bit of notepaper. But simple rules are given for making other words with the help of those in the list; such as designer, designing, and designed, from design, or coal-mine from coal and mine.

The word order is fixed by other short rules, which make it clear from an example such as — "I will put the record on the machine now" — what is the right and natural place for every sort of word.

Whatever is doing the act comes first; then the time word, such as will; then the act or operation (put, take, or get); then the thing to which something is done, and so on.

It is an English in which 850 words do all the work of 20,000, and has been formed by taking out everything which is not necessary to the sense. *Disembark*, for example, is broken up into *get off a ship*. *I am able* takes the place of *I can*; *shape* is covered by the more general word *form*; and *difficult* by the use of *hard*.

By putting together the names of simple operations — such as get, give, come, go, put, take — with the words for directions like in, over, through, and the rest, two or three thousand complex ideas, like insert which becomes put in, are made part of the learner's store.

Most of these are clear to everyone. But in no other language is there an equal chance of making use of this process. That is why Basic is designed to be the international language of the future.

In addition to the Basic words themselves, the learner has, at the start, about fifty words which are now so common that they may be freely used for any purpose. Examples are Radio, Hotel, Telephone, Bar, Club.

For the needs of any science, a short special list gets the expert to a stage where international words are ready to hand. Those who have no knowledge of English will be able to make out the sense of a Radio Talk, or a business letter, after a week with the word-list and the records; but it may be a month or two before they are talking and writing freely.

In fact, it is the business of all internationally-minded persons to make Basic English part of the system of education in every country, so that there may be less chance of war, and less learning of languages — which, after all, for most of us, are a very unnecessary "waste of time".

It is so simple that it can be mastered theoretically in a day, practically in a week, orientally — i.e. in the most unfavourable circumstances — in a month."

Notes and News

Crist 558 - 585

Of the numerous explanations that have been offered to solve the difficulties of Crist 558-585 all but the following two may be considered as definitely discarded: 1

1) The lines are part of the speech of the angels of the Ascension scene, addressed to the disciples standing on the Mount of Olives, and virtually the continuation of lines 510-526. This opinion, which is argued at some length by Cook ² and emphatically supported by Jenney ³, has recently been repeated by Kennedy.⁴

2) The lines are a hymn of praise sung by a host of angels to welcome Christ in heaven after the Ascension. This view was first put forward by Ebert 5 and has met with the approval of Brooke,6 Gordon⁷ and Wardale.8

These two theories have been discussed pro and con for more than half a century, and still there seems little chance of either of them gaining general assent. The obvious conclusion is that there is a flaw in both of them. If lines 510-526 and 558-585 form but one speech addressed by angels to the disciples, who stand gazing after their ascending Lord, its interruption by an account of the disciples' return to Jerusalem and the discussion of a theological problem (527-57) is as pointless as it is confusing. Kennedy,9 who tacitly admits the weight of this argument, suggests that Il. 558-85 may have been displaced 10 and that they should follow immediately after 1. 526. But even on this assumption the text is not satisfactory. Who are the friends whom the disciples are told joyfully to meet? 11 And is it not strange that the famous pandite portas (576b) should be spoken by the angels who have remained behind with the disciples instead of by those escorting Christ on his Ascension, who may be expected to have meanwhile

¹ A synopsis and discussion of the older literature will be found in R. Wülker, Grundriss zur Geschichte der ags. Literatur, p. 186.

² A. S. Cook, The Christ of Cynewulf, pp. 129-31.

³ Adeline M. Jenney, 'A note on Cynewulf's Christ,' Mod. Lang. Notes XXXI, 91 f.

⁴ Charles W. Kennedy, The Earliest English Poetry, p. 225.

⁵ A. Ebert, Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande, vol. III. 47.

⁶ Stopford A. Brooke, The History of Early English Literature, vol. II, 226.

⁷ R. K. Gordon, Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Selected and Translated, p. 158, note 1.
⁸ E. E. Wardale, Chapters on Old English Literature, p. 160. — My list of scholars who have given their verdict on this subject does not claim to be complete.

⁹ l.c., p. 225.

¹⁰ The same surmise is made by Wülker, I.c., p. 186.

^{11 575} Nu ge fromlice - freondum togeanes

gongað glædmode. According to Cook (l.c., p. 131) these lines are not spoken to the disciples, but to the angels forming the retinue of Christ. In that case we should have to assume that, without any hint from the poet, three different groups of hearers, viz. the disciples, the angels accompanying Christ, and those that have remained in the heavenly city, are addressed within three lines and a half (573b-76).

reached the gates of heaven? If, on the other hand, ll. 558-85 are a hymn sung by angels in heaven, some introductory lines to explain to the reader this entirely new situation must surely be missing. Other difficulties involved, especially the impossibility of making good sense out of Geatu ontynað (576b) have been so well argued by Cook 12 as to render repetition superfluous. It seems evident that no amount of further discussion along traditional lines will lend plausibility to either theory and that the problem should be approached from a different angle. I venture to hope that a more satisfactory result may be achieved by a closer examination of Cynewulf's sources.

Crist II (440 ff) opens with a theological question taken over from the following passage in Gregory's 29th Homily on the Gospels: 13 Hoc autem nobis primum quaerendum est, quidnam sit quod nato Domino apparuerunt angeli, et tamen non leguntur in albis vestibus apparuisse; ascendente autem Domino, missi angeli in albis leguntur vestibus apparuisse. Cynewulf turns the somewhat frigid nobis quaerendum est into the more personal appeal: 'Consider carefully, gentle reader, how it came about, etc.' 14 This, and no more, is what I take mon se mæra to mean, and all speculations as to the identity of this 'illustrious man' 15 seem to me beside the mark. Postponing the answer to the question he poses the poet describes Christ's last meeting with his disciples and gives his parting words in accordance with the Gospel narratives (456-90). Lines 491-505 are not based on biblical sources. There is a sudden loud noise in the air (491): multitudes of glorious angels appear (492-4a); Christ ascends to heaven through the roof of a temple (494b-499a); 16 the disciples are sorely grieved when they see their Lord pass out of sight (499b-502a); 17 the angels chant a hymn of praise and rejoice in the light emanating from the Saviour's head (502b-5). For all these details there is no warrant in the Scriptures, but no sources from which Cynewulf might have drawn them have so far become known.

¹² l.c., p. 131.

¹⁸ Cook, *l.c.*, p. 118, note to 440-55.

^{14 440} Nu du geornlice gæstgerynum, mon se mæra, modcræfte sec, ...

hu bæt geeode ...

¹⁶ Cook (*l.c.*, p. 119, note to 1. 441) and, following him, Kennedy (*l.c.*, p. 224) believe that some person of high rank is referred to. "If only", says Kennedy, "we had information by which to identify the 'illustrious man' for whom this question is posed, what a flood of light might well be thrown upon the circumstances of Cynewulf's life."

Cynewulf, perhaps owing to a fault of memory, transforms a Christian church that was subsequently erected on the place of the Ascension scene (Bede, *Hist. eccl.* lib. V. cap.

¹⁷⁾ into a Jewish temple standing there already in the times of Christ.

Even the words of the angels are unable to console them:

⁵³³ Gewitan him þa gongan to Hierusalem hæleð hygerofe in ða halgan burg geomormode

This is at variance with Luc. XXIV, 52 Et ipsi ... regressi sunt in Jerusalem cum gaudio magno.

Lines 506-45 have their chief source in Acts I, 10-11, but supplementary matter is taken from a hymn attributed to Bede. 18 According to this hymn, the angels who explain to the disciples the meaning of the Ascension form part of the attendant host of the ascending Christ, whereas no attendant angels are mentioned in the Bible.19 The reference in the address of the angels to the Last Judgment is likewise drawn from Bede's hymn.20 But — and this seems to me significant — although the hymn refers three times to the Harrowing of Hell (ll. 10-25; 86-88; 105-9), not the slightest allusion to it is made in the speech to the disciples. This fact alone should make us distrustful of any attempt to construe ll. 558-85 into part of the discourse of the angels.

After relating the return of the disciples to Jerusalem (533-45a), Cynewulf once more takes up his theological problem and offers the solution (545b-557). Then follows the crucial passage (558 f.), which is evidently quite unconnected with the preceding lines. As long ago as 1907, Trautmann 21 concluded on metrical and linguistic grounds that between frætwum (556b). the last word on fol. 15b, and ealles waldend, the first words on fol. 16a. a leaf must be missing from the manuscript and that the text should be printed as follows:

gesegon wil-cuman 555 on heah-setle heofones waldend, folca feorh-giefan frætwum [blican]. (one leaf missing) ealles waldend middan-geardes ond mægen-brymmes. 558 Hafað nu se halga helle bereafod, etc.29

18 It is printed in full in Cook's Christ, p 116 f.

19 49 Erant in admirabili

Regis triumpho altithroni coetus simul caelestium polum petentes agminum.

Cf. 514 wile up heonan eard gestigan æþelinga Ord mid þas engla gedryht

20 64 Jesus, triumpho nobilis, a vobis ad caelestia qui regna nunc assumptus est, venturus inde saeculi

in fine Judex omnium.

Possibly a parallel passage of the hymn, though no part of the discourse of the angels, has also been laid under contribution:

113 venturus inde in gloria ... dijudicare pro actibus justo potens examine.

523 Wile eft swa-beah eordan mægde

sylfa gesecan side herge,

ond bonne gedeman dæda gehwylce

bara de gefremedon folc under roderum. No mention of the Last Judgment is made in the corresponding passage of Acts: ... hic Jesus, qui assumptus est a vobis in caelum, sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum

euntem in caelum (Acts I, 11). 21 M. Trautmann, Berichtigungen, Erklärungen und Vermutungen zu Cynewulf's Werken. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Heft XXIII, 89.

At first sight Trautmann's theory does not seem to help us much further, and it is only when we attempt to reconstruct the lost matter by means of Bede's hymn that it proves its usefulness. It might be expected from 11. 529-32 that Cynewulf had contented himself with a brief summary of Christ's entrance into heaven:

Hyht wæs geniwod, 530 blis in burgum burh bæs beornes cyme. Gesæt sigehremig on þa swiþran hand ece eadfruma agnum fæder.

But these lines are only spoken by way of anticipation of what was to follow in detail. Let us suppose that after settling his theological problem the poet returned once more to the angel-messengers on the Mount of Olives. Having delivered their message to the disciples, they joined the throng of attendant angels and Old Testament Saints on their upward flight and soon reached the gates of heaven.²³ There an angel exclaimed: "Open the gates that the King of Glory may enter." ²⁴ Then a voice from the heavenly city replied: "Who is this King of Glory who wishes to enter the gates of heaven? We always see Christ in heaven and rejoice in His and His Father's glory." ²⁵ To this there came answer from the heraldangel outside: "He is a Lord mighty and strong,

(and now comes the point where ll. 556 ff. set in)

the Ruler of all,
of the earth and of the heavenly glory.

558 Now has this Holy One despoiled hell
of all the tribute that in past days

560 it had wrongfully swallowed [and thereby brought]
into that place of strife. 26

Now are the devil-warriors humiliated and fettered
in hell-torment, deprived of glory
in the abyss of hell.
His adversaries could not succeed in battle.

3 69 Haec dixerant, et non mora juncti choris felicibus, cum Rege regum lucidi portis Olympi approximant.

73 Emissa tunc vox angeli:
'portas', ait, 'nunc pandite,
et introibit perpetis

Dux pacis et Rex gloriae'.

77 Respondit haec ab intimis
vox urbis almae moenibus:
Quis iste Rex est gloriae,

80 intret poli qui januas?

Nos semper in caelestibus

Christum solemus cernere,
et ejus una cum Patre
pari beamur gloria.'

²² A. W. Craigie seems to be the only scholar who has followed Trautmann's suggestion (in Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry II).

565 in the throwing of weapons, as soon as the King of Glory, the Protector of the Kingdom of heaven, engaged in combat with his ancient foes by means of His might alone.

There he freed from bondage the greatest of spoils, from the city of the fiends folk untold,

570 this very company which ye [angels in the heavenly city] here gaze upon.

Now will the Saviour of souls, God's own Son, seek the throne of spirits after the combat.

Now ye [angels in the heavenly city] clearly know who that Lord is who leads this host.²⁷

575 Go now quickly to meet your friends [the patriarchs and prophets] full of joy. Open the gates! 28

There will [come] in to you [angels] the Ruler of all, the King into the city with no small host, the Creator of the works of old [will] lead

580 into the joy of joys the folk that He took from the devils through his own victory.

between angels and men to all eternity"

the folk that He took from the devils Peace shall be ever henceforth

I arrive at the following conclusion:

1) Crist 558-85 is neither a speech of the angels on the Mount of Olives addressed to the disciples, nor a hymn of praise sung by a host of angels in heaven after the Ascension.

2) It is a fragment of a dialogue between a herald-angel outside the gates of heaven and a spokesman of the angels inside, of which the first part, owing to a leaf missing from the manuscript, has unfortunately been lost.

Basel.

KARL JOST.

26 85 At praeco magni Judicis:

'Dominus potens et fortis est, qui stravit atrum in praelio mundi triumphans principem.

Cynewulf also makes use of another part of the hymn touching on the Harrowing of Hell:

9 Nam diri leti limina
caecas et umbras inferi
lustrans sua potentia (567b Anes meahtum)
leti ligarat principem; (562a gehæfte)
et quos suos in actibus
fideque lectos noverat

15 omnes Averní faucibus salvavit a ferocibus. (558 Hafað nu se halga helle bereafod ealles þæs gafoles þe hi ... swealg).

The angels in the heavenly city have received a full answer to their question:

79 'Quis iste Rex est gloriae, intret poli qui januas?'

²⁸ Most editors prefer: 'open, ye gates', though ontynan is rarely intransitive.

Reviews

The Humors & Shakespeare s Characters. By JOHN W. DRAPER, Professor of English, West Virginia University. 126 pp. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1945. \$2.00.

In this work the author, well-known for his numerous contributions to our knowledge of the psycho-medical background of the Shakespeare plays, gives a systematic discussion of the various humours and their employment in these plays. For a proper understanding of the subject it is indispensable that the reader should know something about the humours and their position in the medical science of Shakespeare's days. The medical system of those days, based on Galen, held that 'the body has four fluids, or "humors", a preponderance of any one of which affects the physique and the mind in certain recognized ways; and each of these humors is associated with a certain planet, constellation of the zodiac, hours, day, season, colors, metals, diseases, time of life and special situations and events, professions, vocations. and the like.' In addition to these there was a fifth, the mercurial humour. which results from a balance of other humours, and is therefore rather unstable. Hence there are five humours: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, melancholy and mercurial. Two of these were subdivided into two types so as to bring the number into line with that of the traditional number of planets in astrology, between which and the humours there was held to be a certain definite connection. Thus the phlegmatic humour was of two types, one warm under Venus, and one cold under the moon. In the same way there was a choleric humour under the sun and one under Mars. sanguine humour was under the power of Jupiter, the melancholy under that of Saturn, and the mercurial under Mercury. Not only were all persons classifiable according to this system, but there were also certain connections between certain ages and certain humours. Children and women were phlegmatic (cold and wet), old men melancholy (cold and dry), middle life was either sanguine or choleric. These influences might of course be counteracted by a favourable nativity or other conditions: Orsino in Twelfth Night is expected to be sanguine, his unrequited love for Olivia makes him melancholv.

The social status or profession is also of great importance. Sanguine men were nobles, prelates, rich men; choleric men under Mars, warriors, but also surgeons and cutlers, though the author does not see why. We may take this occasion to point out the reason. Though the author has traced the connection between the humours and astrology, we think he has been mistaken in taking the humours as his basis. The basis is astrology and the humours have been fitted into it in the same way as the seven 'planets' are said to govern the twelve signs of the zodiac: here the sun and the moon are said to govern one sign each, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were held to rule two signs each. It is the seven planets which are decisive. The very introduction of a fifth humour (mercurial) to account for the

planet Mercury, proves this. Thus Mars in astrology governs anything to do with war, hence among metals, iron, essential in war, among persons all people connected with iron, hence cutlers, but also surgeons, and by extension all physicians, and people connected with war, hence warriors, etc. So surgeons and cutlers do not belong here, as the author thinks, because iron was associated with choler, but because both choler and iron fall under Mars. Choleric persons under the sun, says the author, were kings and potentates, and so were 'laborers of gold', not as the author suggests 'perhaps because gold was considered a royal metal' but because both categories are under the sun, which is the ruler of royal authority and of gold. The author will find that in modern astrology all these correspondencies are still held valid, but the humours have long since been discarded. In fact, they are of secondary importance in this respect, though at a time they rather tended to obscure the infinitely much older astrological basis. Women, children, artists and voluptuaries were under Venus, hence phlegmatic (not vice versa), queens, prodigals, fishermen and servants under the moon. All menial trades are under Saturn, hence melancholy.

The author then proceeds to discuss the humours in turn and to see which of the characters fall under each head. Under the sanguine type we can classify various lovers such as Ferdinand, King of Navarre, and Orlando. Brutus is another example of this type, as contrasted with the choleric Cassius. So is Duncan. Most of Shakespeare's sanguine men are noblemen. The phlegmatic characters fall under three heads: fat ones (Sir Toby Belch, Falstaff), children and women (Lucius, Ophelia) and lanky, cowardly persons (Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Slender), the first two groups being under Venus, the third under the moon. Some of the characters are rather baffling. Professor Draper is at a loss whether to call Mark Antony phlegmatic, mercurial or melancholy.

The choleric humour was hot and dry, strong, proud, independent. Professor Draper remarks that the age seemed to require such a humour, and that choler and choleric are mentioned some 40 times in the plays. In those under the sun the influence is temperate and fortunate (Juliet, Biron, Henry V, are excellent examples), in those under Mars less so (Iachimo in Cymbeline). Cassius is another excellent example of the choleric type under Mars. A choleric condition might be induced by highly seasoned food or strong drink (Cassio in Othello). In The Taming of the Shrew Kate presents an example of choler being cured. Misfortune also may engender choler, as is the case in Shylock by Jessica's elopement. Othello and Coriolanus show the conflict of choleric temperaments. Melancholy is either innate (as in the bastard Edmund in Richard III) or develops in old age (Lear) or under frustration (Hamlet!). It is wholly under the evil influence of Saturn. That magistrates should be subject to it is astrologically not surprising.

The mercurial types show a certain balance, but also vacillation in character. Professor Draper finds one indubitable example in Horatio in Hamlet. Others may be found in Gonzalo in The Tempest, Richard II

whose vacillation is marked, Macbeth and the undependable Cleopatra. Shakespeare also presents instances of assumed humours, such as Iago, Prospero and Petruchio.

A study like this gives rise to a good many queries. First of all, one wonders how the consistent application of a medico-psychological principle fits in with the haphazard way of writing attributed by some to Shakespeare. Secondly, does it tally with the 'unlearned' Shakespeare of tradition? The principle is applied too cleverly and markedly to be purely an unconscious application or implication of a current popular belief. That much is clear from its use in King Lear alone. Shakespeare must have had a more or less scholarly grasp of the theory and have used it consistently in planning his plots. The use of astrology in Romeo and Juliet in this connection is as interesting as its application in Chaucer's Knightes Tale.

Another question is whether the astrological categories in psychology do not merit a little more attention than the contempt generally showered upon them. What gives the Shakespeare plays their eternal value and high position in literature is precisely their psychology and delineation of character. And if indeed, as Professor Draper makes sufficiently clear, astrological categories are at the bottom of this, should we not do well to consider the

words of the great philosopher Bacon:

A man shall find in the traditions of astrology some pretty and apt divisions of men's natures, according to the predominances of the planets ... For the distinctions are found, many of them, but we conclude no precepts upon them: wherein our fault is the greater, because both history, poesy, and daily experience, are as goodly fields where these observations grow; whereof we make a few poesies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary, that receipts might be made of them for the use of life. (Advancement of Learning.)

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

Paradise Lost in Our Time. Some Comments. By Douglas Bush. ix + 117 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1945. London: Cumberlege. 1946. 10s. 6d.

Milton and the Renaissance Ovid. By Davis P. Harding. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXX, No. 4.) 105 pp. Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press. 1946. \$1.50.

The modern critical reaction against Milton which has had great influence during the past twenty-six years has been opposed by many scholars, in whose ranks Professor Bush holds an honoured position. His comments, of necessity, restate many of the reasons already advanced by such scholars

as Charles Williams, C. S. Lewis, E. M. Tillyard, R. W. Chapman, and C. M. Bowra against the dethronement of Milton; but Professor Bush, while fully realising the difficulties that his subject presents to modern readers, adds to contemporary writing on the poet and his poetry personal views that are enthusiastic and constructive. Apart from recording his own attitude the author has an eye to any general readers who may still hold the nineteenth-century idea that there is a division between Milton's substance and the verbal music of his work, and to any undergraduates who are attracted by the fashion of over-praising the metaphysical poets.

Initially this book is based on four lectures delivered at Cornell University in 1944, themselves part of a larger survey undertaken for the Lowell Institute in the previous year. The four chapters possess the merits, and, to a very small degree, the faults of spoken lectures which appear in print. They are simplified and selected aspects of a large theme presented with cogency and clarity, in a form that makes them easy to grasp and remember; but they are sometimes punched home by a colloquial style more suited to

a spoken lecture.

In his first chapter Professor Bush deals with the reaction against Milton, and exposes flaws in the doctrine of Mr Eliot, often using that critic's 'stab in the back' technique. Sometimes this is effective, sometimes not; its success or failure depends on the individual reader's taste. For instance, after a frontal attack on the 'smug' essay of Mr Leavis, which attributed Milton's final dislodgement to the 'few critical asides' of Mr Eliot, Professor Bush remarks:

Apparently Mr Eliot's critical asides, though potent, were not quite final, since the complete demolition of Milton required twenty-five pages from Mr Leavis.¹

It is easy to imagine this aside proving effective in a lecture; in cold print it looks cheap. Again, Professor Bush is not content merely to expose the fact that when Mr Eliot writes that Milton is antipathetic 'from the moralist's point of view' 2 he means that he personally does not like him; the point is laboured over-much when Mr Eliot's praise of Lancelot Andrewes is dragged in by the heels:

What indictment can be lodged by 'the moralist' is not clear, unless it is that, like some of the Church fathers, Milton could be violent in controversy and that, like some other upright men, he accepted the execution of King Charles. If these things are what disturbed Mr Eliot's 'moralist', we may observe that, in writing a eulogy of Lancelot Andrewes and his sermons, Mr Eliot did not think it necessary to mention what has troubled other admirers, the saintly bishop's approval of the infamous Countess of Essex' infamous plea for divorce and his acceptance of, or share in, the sending of a heretic to the stake.

A better use is made of Mr Eliot's writings outside the subject of Milton when his idea of a Christian Society 3 is compared with Milton's vision of

¹ F. R. Leavis, Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry, p. 58.

<sup>T. S. Eliot, 'A Note on the Verse of John Milton', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, Vol. XXI, p. 32.
T. S. Eliot, The Idea of a Christian Society, 1939.</sup>

what the holy community should be, a concept which sprang from his belief that his office was that of the poet-priest, who should himself be a 'true poem.' 4 In general, the first chapter gives the best survey 5 of the reaction so far produced, and refutes many pieces of careless or arrogant writing.

Professor Bush's chapter on the religious and ethical principles is the most valuable part of his book. He is aware of the gulf between Milton's absolutism and the hybris of the modern pseudo-scientific outlook. He explains briefly 6 the doctrine of right reason as it was held by Hooker, Taylor and Whichcote as well as by Milton, stresses its importance, and shows how Milton's concept of deity was based on the rational natural order in the universe, and in the individual soul of man.

The chapter on the characters and drama, though interesting, is less original than the final chapter's comment on the poetical structure of the poem. This is a rich illustration of Professor Bush's power to convey the pleasure, both intellectual and emotional, which *Paradise Lost* affords him, to the reader who cannot but be stimulated by the largeness of view with which this scholar sees the poet.

Milton and the Renaissance Ovid is a study of the considerable use which Milton made of Ovid, and, in particular, of the Metamorphoses. The opening chapter on 'The Christian Ovid' is a succinct account of the position occupied by the Pagan mythology from the days of mediaeval allegory to its eclipse in the later seventeenth century.7 There follows a detailed discussion of the problem of how long Milton was at St. Paul's. with a closely reasoned and satisfactory answer. His early acquaintance with Ovid is illuminated by an examination of the methods, notably those of Charles Hoole and John Brinsley, of teaching Latin verse which were then in vogue. These preliminaries completed, various examples of Milton's borrowing from Ovid for his Latin poetry are discussed with acuteness; original discoveries of sources and explanations of difficulties are offered (the most noteworthy are the discussions of In obitum praesulis Eliensis 56-58, and In Quit. Nov. 170-171) and these clarify and add to the wealth of the original. A chapter on the relations of Comus to the Metamorphoses and the Fairie Queene follows; this is largely unoriginal, being drawn mainly from the work of Professor J. H. Hanford and Professor Douglas Bush.

The last chapter which deals with the Ovidian element in Paradise Lost is the most useful part of this book for the average student of Milton; in it Milton's debt to Ovid is clarified and many examples given of similarities between the accounts of Creation, Chaos, Paradise (the Pagan Golden Age)

⁴ John Milton, Apology for Smectymnus.

⁵ Cf. Logan Pearsall Smith, Milton and his Modern Critics, 1940-41. It is a pity that Professor Bush has had to dismiss some of the figures in the controversy in footnotes. A larger survey of the question is needed.

⁶ Cf. D. Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, pp. 359-398.
⁷ Cf. D. Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, p. 240 seq.

and the floods which beset Noah and Deucalion. Phaeton and Typhoeus are cited as examples for the creation of Satan; the allegory of Sin and Death is traced back to Ovid's myth of Scylla and Glaucus, that is, for characterisation; the importance of the Bible in *Paradise Lost* is never overlooked in this study, for Milton was primarily writing a Christian epic. *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* is a scholarly work, which presents its findings clearly, and reveals its own sources in a pleasing series of foot-notes.

Both the works reviewed are printed with taste, and their appearance is

attractive.

Groningen.

A. Norman Jeffares.

Shelley, A Life Story. By Edmund Blunden. London: Collins. 1946. 12/6.

Shelley's romantic life has always attracted biographers and will ever do so. Edmund Blunden, who is the author of *Shelley is Expelled* (see review in *English Studies*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 140), as well as of other books concerning the romantic period, has taken up the subject and has written a book on Shelley's life for the general reader, which releases him from the use of bibliographical and other scholarly notes.

He stresses Shelley's aristocratic origin and sees a few hereditary traits in the poet's character. One of Shelley's progenitors was expelled from Oxford, because he refused to attend divine service, a remarkable

coincidence indeed.

Blunden depicts Shelley as 'a competent country squire' and even asserts that he 'was born with capacities which would have suited him for several careers', though few Shelley critics will agree with the author in this respect, and many will see in the romantic poet a Bohemian of aristocratic birth, often wanting in self-control.

This Bohemian nature of Shelley comes out among other things in his wanderings through Europe, in which he was always accompanied by Mary Shelley. It is almost impossible to trace all the 'eyries' of the Shelley couple. Mary Shelley, herself an author by birthright, referring to their last abode with Edward and Jane Williams at Lerici, stated of herself in a letter: 'you may imagine how ill a large family agrees with my laziness, when accounts and domestic concerns come to be talked of'.

This book does not bring much that is new to the insider, except the information in the preface that a group of American scholars are shortly to publish *The Shelley Legend*, in which work certain statements regarding the poet's life will be reconsidered.

Pending this investigation Mr. Blunden refrains from giving his opinion in the case of Harriet Westbrook's suicide, which had such bad consequences

for Shelley's repute. Perhaps he is right, though one often doubts if this mystery will ever be solved, and whether similar investigations do not divert one too much from the highways of literature to the byways. However, we will not anticipate.

'Of all the complicated lives of which we have word Shelley's was the most complicated', Mr. Blunden truly says, and such a life has its dark points.

In the discussion of Shelley's portraits we miss the mention of the pencil sketch of Shelley attributed to Thornton Hunt, the gifted son of Leigh Hunt, which portrait is to be found in *The Times* of September 9, 1930.

Walter Edwin Peck's Shelley, His Life and Work, contains another portrait of Shelley (the frontispiece of Vol. II) by the American artist William E. West, a dreamy picture though not resembling the sentimentalized effigy by Miss Curran. However, as to the origin of this portrait Mr. Peck does not tell us anything.

On p. 254 Mr. Blunden refers to Edward and Jane Williams as 'the happiest of married people'. They were not married (see e.g. Peck II,

p. 198, and Sylva Norman's After Shelley, p. XXXIX).

Mr. Blunden's book does not resemble the 'gossipy' life Professor Dowden wrote. On the other hand it lags behind the scholarly work of Mr. Peck, though this cannot be a reproach to Mr. Blunden, his book being intended for the general reader. As such it makes a readable life. The chapter on Prometheus Unbound struck us as particularly good.

The Hague.

L. VERKOREN.

A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles. Compiled at the University of Chicago under the editorship of Sir William Craigle, Co-editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, and James R. Hulbert, Professor of English, The University of Chicago. Part I, A—Baggage [1936]. Part II, Baggage-Smasher—Blood [1937]. Part III, Blood Beet—Butterfly [1938]. Part IV, Butterfly Pea—Chubby [1938]. Part V, Chub Eel—Corn Patch [1939]. Part VI, Corn Pit—Dew [1939]. Part VII, Dewberry—Emporium [1939]. Pp. xii [xiii, xiv], 1-884. Price to non-subscribers, 17s. each part.

One of the most notable developments in the field of English linguistics during the period between the two world wars has been the impetus given to the study of American English by such works as Mencken's *The American Language* and Krapp's *The English Language in America*, and by such

This review was written in November 1944. The Dictionary is now complete. The remaining parts will be discussed later. — Z.

co-operative undertakings as the journal American Speech, the Linguistic Atlas of America, and the Dictionary of American English. Seven instalments of the latter had reached us before our oversea communications were cut off; pending the arrival of further parts something may be said on the character of this new publication, which the remainder of the work, whether already issued or still to appear, is unlikely to modify.

The chief aim of the promotors of the DAE — as we propose to call it for short — as explained in the Preface is to exhibit clearly those features by which the English of the American colonies and the United States is distinguished from that of England and the rest of the English-speaking world. To do this, they are including, not only words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin, or have greater currency in the U.S.A. than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people. The end of the nineteenth century has been selected as a terminus ad quem, so that the dictionary supplies little information on recent additions to the vocabulary, though words and meanings already current before 1900 are frequently illustrated also by later quotations. Furthermore, the inclusion of slang and dialect words has been restricted to those which are of early date or special prominence.

Comparison with the Oxford English Dictionary shows, first, a slightly smaller printed page, divided into two columns instead of three, with the quotations in a type that is less of a strain to the eye. Numerous words of no special interest from an American point of view are omitted, and the quotations range over three centuries instead of ten. Not that the two dictionaries have not a good deal in common. The American material collected for OED was placed at the disposal of the editors of DAE, and much of it has been utilized for both. But — and herein lies the advantage of a special dictionary like the present — whereas it is often hard to distinguish the American from the English quotations in OED, no such difficulty exists in the case of its younger cousin. Research into the contribution of transatlantic English to the common stock of the language now has a firm foundation to build upon.

The results to be expected on the purely linguistic side are hinted at in a prospectus issued by the Oxford University Press in 1936, from which we quote the following paragraph:

The ten years of extensive and intensive collecting which has been done for this new dictionary have brought to light earlier datings than known before for many important words. The establishing of dates, hitherto unknown or inexact, enables one to identify those Americanisms which have passed into general use and are now common in the English of Great Britain and the world at large. These are far more numerous than might be supposed, for many of them have no distinguishing mark. One might readily suspect a number of them, such as bogus, boom, boss, but no one unacquainted with the subject would be inclined to add census, immigrant, loafer, schooner, wallpaper, lawabiding, lengthy, to belittle, to cave in, to clear out, once in a while, time and again, &c. Yet the evidence for these, and many more, is quite conclusive.

This, of course, is an ex-parte statement: our interest in American linguistic developments is not restricted to those that have become almost indistinguishable as such, any more than our interest in American literature is limited to the novels of Henry James or the poems of T. S. Eliot. Indeed, those elements that are still unmistakably American have at least an equal claim on our attention with those that have shed every trace of their origin; American English deserves to be studied for its own sake, as a highly instructive example of a modern language adapting itself to an entirely new environment.

An admirably clear survey of the contents of Parts I-V is given in a Prefatory Note to Volume I, replacing and enlarging a similar Note to Part I. In A, the largest group of words denoting actual things consists of the names of plants or trees and animals. Trees, plants and animals are also well represented under B and C; as a matter of fact, a great deal can be learned from a careful perusal of the Dictionary about the flora and fauna of America. These entries are sometimes treated with a gusto not to be found in similar articles in OED, witness the following definition of Chestnut 2: "The large handsome tree Castanea versca, esp. the American variety of this, native in the area east of the Mississippi." — besides which the corresponding item in OED sounds dull and matter-of-fact: "2. The tree which bears these, Castanea vesca. N.O. Corylaceæ, now growing naturally all over Southern Europe, though said to have been introduced, within the historical period, from Asia Minor". From the numerous other categories into which the survey is divided we select topographical terms, such as air-line ("bee-line", "direct railroad route"), bayou, branch ("a small stream"), backwoods (traced back to 1742), campus, chute ("In U.S. this form is widely used in place of Eng. shoot"), etc.; administration and politics, which bulk largely under A and C, with such terms as abolition (of slavery), absentee ("a loyalist who absented himself from his residence during the American Revolution"), amendment ("a new article added to the Constitution"), available ("having the requisite influence or strength, irrespective of merit, as a political candidate"), blue laws ("severe puritanical regulations"), carpetbagger, caucus, copperhead (among other meanings, "during the Civil War, a Northerner who sympathized with the South"), etc.; social and religious life, represented by amalgamation (of the white and black races), apple-bee, awakening ("a spiritual revival"), baseball, Christian Science, etc. etc. Miscellaneous Americanisms hard to classify include absquatulate. boost, bootlegger, bunkum, cahoot ("partnership"), can (n. and v.), chore. cinch, commute(r), considerable ("a good deal"), and many others recorded before 1900, and mostly still in current use. Among words adopted from other languages those from Spanish predominate, with adobe, arroyo, buckayro and buckaroo from vaquero ("a cowboy"), chapparral, and, of course, cafeteria, which, in one form or another,2 has conquered the world. - Among the contents of Parts VI & VII, such articles as those on elder.

² Cf. C. B. van Haeringen, Cafetaria, taria (De Nieuwe Taalgids, 38,5, 148 ff.; ib., 39,6, 189).

emancipation, emigrant, with their combinations, throw interesting sidelights on American history, just as, for instance, those on corn and cotton in the earlier instalments testify to the importance of these products for the national economy.

Not least interesting from a linguistic point of view are a number of colloquialisms denoted as survivals from older English, such as the frequent use of a- with verbal derivatives in -ing (a-fishing, a-fowling, a-gunning, a-hunting, a-shooting, a-sleighing, a-whaling), indicative of special pursuits. Illustration of these forms is carried down to later dates than in OED; according to DAE they were (and are?) "much more freq. used colloq. in U.S. than in England." Other survivals of various types are abovestairs, acold, acclimate, acclimation, accommodations, admire or aim (to do a thing), allow (in special senses), ambition (as a verb), ancient (= long-lived), angle-rod, arrearage, and avails. That concessive as..as (As young as I am, ...) survives in American English, seems to have escaped the editors' attention. Will the American dictionary resemble its English proto-

type in the insufficiency of its record of syntactic phenomena?

There is little to add by way of supplement or correction. The date of the first E. occurrence of the phrase From A to izzard (zee, or zed) is given as 1799 (OED s.v. Izzard); but OED Suppl. s.v. A records "from the letter A. vntill Z." as early as 1612. — The earliest date for (to be) a-fishing etc. in OED is, indeed, 1523; but Mossé (Forme Périphrastique § 190) has an example of a hawkyng from the Stonor Letters dated 1481, and points out in § 193 that (to go) a-begging occurs already in Chaucer, RR 6719, 6726. — To be all abroad = puzzled, is given as of American origin, with one quotation, dated 1860; but OED s.v. Abroad 5 has all abroad from Thackeray, 1842, in practically the same meaning. — Airballoon. Fr. Balon (sic) spells with ll. — Is not apple-belt recorded before 1900? - No mention is made of the use of availability in the following sentence from N. Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, Introductory, p. 46 (ed. Nelson): "This faith [viz. that he will finally be restored to office], more than anything else, steals the pith and availability out of whatever enterprise he may dream of undertaking." The meaning seems to be "efficacy"; cf. OED s.v. Available I. 1. — One is surprised at not finding a single instance of the plural cactuses, and equally surprised to find a contributor to Harper's Magazine in 1851 writing of cacti plants. An instance of hyper-correctness: - To make (political) capital of (p. 418, 1st col.) should be out of, as shown by the illustrations. - On p. 439, 2nd col., Casing is explained as "A watertight jacket around a gun barrel." The quotation (1888) runs: "By means of this casing, or water-jacket, it is impossible to overheat the gun by firing." If a military expert had been consulted, the definition would probably have been differently worded. — One is struck by the frequent occurrence in definitions of the phrase "one or other", e.g.: Chub sucker. "A fish belonging to one or other variety of sucker common in the eastern part of the U.S." The phrase does not seem to be recorded in OED, which, of course, is no reflection on DAE. - It does not seem absolutely certain that George Washington used common as an adverb in an entry in his Diary in 1784: "The Land is leveller than is common to be met with in this part of the Country." It seems at least possible to regard common as an adjective, and the sentence as a contamination of "The land is leveller than is common", and "than is commonly to be met with." — P. 667, 1st col. Crackin(g) bread is misprinted for Cracklin(g) bread. — It is interesting to find the phrase (a) new deal employed as early as 1863. — Occasionally a form in a quotation from he 17th century links up with one from a still earlier period in OED. Thus the Rhode Island Court-Records of 1662 speak of a "debete warden"; OED registers † Debite (variously spelt), a corruption of Depute (disyllabic) = Deputy, from 1482 to 1549, and † Debity (also variously spelt), from 1467 to 1559. Whether the disyllabic or the trisyllabic form is meant in the R. I. Court Records is hard to say.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Brief Mention

Modern Travel. An Anthology. Selected and edited by Frederick T. Wood, vii + 220 pp. Macmillan. 1946. 3/6.

Modern Autobiography. An Anthology. Selected and edited by Frederick T. Wood. ix + 245 pp. Macmillan. 1946. 3/6.

The passages contained in each of these anthologies make excellent reading, and the majority are of outstanding literary quality. Among the authors represented we find such distinguished names as W. H. Davies, J. B. Priestley (English Journey), Sir Osbert Sitwell (Escape With Me), Llewelyn Powys (A Pagan's Pilgrimage), and Robert Byron. As regards the latter, it is perhaps a pity that Dr. Wood should not have chosen a fragment from The Road to Oxiana, which in many respects appears a work of greater maturity than First Russia, Then Tibet. Admirers of Byron abroad will learn with regret that he lost his life on war-service at sea in September 1941. (Those interested in his life and personality may be referred to the well-written chapter devoted to him by his friend Christopher Sykes, in the latter's Four Studies in Loyalty, which was published a few months ago.) Undoubtedly, however, Dr. Wood's choice of fragments is on the whole highly commendable, both in the travel anthology and in that of autobiography. Not only has he included authors of established literary reputation, such as W. H. Hudson, Sir John Squire, R. H. Mottram, Siegfried Sassoon and Rudyard Kipling, but in his endeavour to secure as great a variety as possible, also characters so diverse as Mr. Winston Churchill, an airman (Cecil Lewis, with an admirable extract from Sagittarius Rising, which after a rollicking beginning ends on a note of desperate resignation), a taxi-driver, a farmlabourer, and others.

In making his choice Dr. Wood had in mind, not in the first place the reader of advanced literary education, but young students who are interested in literature and want some guidance to deepen their literary insight. With a view to these he has provided the books with explanatory notes (fortunately in a lump at the end of each book, so that they do not disfigure the pages of the text. An occasional note may raise the presumption that the editor hopes to see his work in the hands, not only of the rising, but of many

future generations, whom it will be necessary to remind that Benito Mussolini was a Fascist Dictator of Italy. I found one curious but excusable slip in the notes: the "abacus" on which in the restaurant-car of the Trans-Siberian express, the chef du train "played a slow significant tattoo" (Modern Travel p. 95) was not, of course, "a kind of sideboard with various compartments for cups, bottles, glasses, etc.", but must have been the good old counting-frame (placed horizontally in Russia, not vertically), which even in modern Russia, in almost every shop and office is still used in much the same functions as the cash-

register and the calculating machine in America and Western Europe.

There are also some pages of exercises in each book, which cover a wide range. Students are set such simple tasks as telling in their own words certain incidents in the text or writing essays on related subjects, but they are also asked to ponder on more difficult questions ("In what respects do the methods of narration and description adopted in the extract (His Father's Funeral by Sean O'Casey) differ from those of the more conventional autobiography? What are the advantages of these departures from the more orthodox methods?"); questions cleverly designed to assist the student in realizing the literary significance of what he has read. Questions concerning the authors' various attitudes to the subjects described are more frequent in the volume on travel than in

indirectly self-revealing than autobiographers.

The exercises make the two books of considerable interest and valuable also for foreign students, while even the non-student might do worse than spend an occasional hour in studying them, thus deepening his appreciation of two deservedly popular, though minor,

Modern Autobiography, which is natural, as the authors of travel-books are usually more

departments of modern English literature.

Arnhem.

M. H. BRAAKSMA

Anglica. Rivista di Studi Inglesi e Americani. I, 1, 2-3. Febr.-Aug. 1946. G. C. Sansoni, Editore, Firenze. (Annual Subscription abroad L. 800.)

Though Italy before the war had made important contributions to the study of English literature, it did not possess a journal entirely devoted to this and allied subjects. This lack is now supplied by Anglica, a bi-monthly review published at Florence under the editorship of Professor N. Orsini. In some ways it resembles our own English Studies, though its contents are mostly written in Italian, while its emphasis is predominantly on modern literature from the time of Shakespeare. As stated in an introductory note to the first number, our pre-war Translation Supplement has suggested a "sezione traduzioni", while the teaching of English also comes within its scope. To the numbers hitherto received, the Editor himself contributes a survey of Shakespearean criticism, and historical notes on English poetic diction, Mario Praz an article on The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford. There are articles in English on Sherwood Anderson and on the tempo of Desdemona's speech, both of them by American contributors; also annotated specimens of prose and poetry in American dialect (Lowell, Haliburton, Artemus Ward, Runyon). Book reviews and surveys of periodicals conclude each number. We wish Professor Orsini and his collaborators every success. — Z.

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